THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY

FOUNDED BY JAMES LOEB, LL.D.

EDITED BY

†T. E. PAGE, C.H., LITT.D.

†E. CAPPS, PH.D., LL.D. †W. H. D. ROUSE, LITT.D.

L. A. POST, L.H.D. E. H. WARMINGTON, M.A., F.R.HIST.SOC.

ARRIAN

II

ARRIAN

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION

BY

E. ILIFF ROBSON, B.D.

ANABASIS ALEXANDRI (BOOKS V–VII)
INDICA (BOOK VIII)

IN TWO VOLUMES

II

LONDON
WILLIAM HEINEMANN LTD
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
MCMLXVI

First printed 1933
Reprinted 1949, 1959, 1966

Printed in Great Britain

CONTENTS

PREFACE

A KEEN critic, who pointed out several misprints in Vol. I, also took me to task for vagaries in the proper names. In these I confess to a certain licence, for which there are parallels. Sometimes "Ptolemy," sometimes "Ptolemaeus," better fits the run of the sentence, and "Ptolemaeus" is advisable where another name, such as Aristobulus, follows. In Roman Histories, despite the wise recommendations of learned societies for transliteration, "Pompey" and "Antony," undignified though they sound, are usual. In *Anabasis* VI. v. 5 I even venture "Craterus and Philip," since we have come to anglicize "Philippus" as a general rule.

In this volume I use Arabeans (*Indica*) for dwellers by the river Arabis, but keep "Agrianes" because "Agrianians" sounds ugly.

Sometimes variety is used to distinguish; it has become usual, for instance, to use Aornos of the Rock, Aornus of the Bactrian site.

A more difficult point is accentuation of rarer names, especially of Macedonian names. I print Λεοννάτος, as Roos did; but he repented when too late (Piget me Λεοννάτος . . . ex A retinuisse, cum Λεοννᾶτος vel . . . Λεόννατος scribendum sit). Possibly in the *Indica*, where there is evidently some attempt at Aeolisms, we should, by βαρυτόνησις, write Λεόννατος. But -ᾶτος is probably wrong, and Hoffmann (Ueber

die Makedonen u. ihre sprache) suggests that the termination is from ὀνίνημι, the name meaning "serviceable to the people" or something like; and, if so, the word should be oxytone.

Not many works on Arrian or Alexander have appeared since the publication of Vol. I; the translation of Ulrich Wilcken's *Alexander* and Georges Radet's *Alexandre le grand* (Paris, 1931, 448 pp.) are to be noted; those who have followed Radet's writings in Bordeaux University publications will know that the completed work is of high value. A copy of *The Ephemerides of Alexander's Expedition*, by C. A. Robinson, Jr. of Brown University, has kindly been sent me by the author, who indeed seems to attribute the work to a desire expressed in my *Alexander the Great* (Cape). In this study of Alexander's routes and stopping-places Mr. Robinson seems to reach the striking conclusion that after the death of Callisthenes there was, for a time, either a cessation of the official Diaries or much confusion in them. In this "second period" the surviving authorities differ much in their records of Alexander's progress. Later on they appear to have been better ordered. The writer promises a larger work.

Sir Aurel Stein prints in *The Geographical Journal* for July 1932 an article on "The Site of Alexander's Passage of the Hydaspes and the Battle with Poros." He has most kindly permitted use of his articles and maps; and the larger map in this volume has been as far as possible brought into harmony with his, while that of the Upper Indus is actually his.

E. I. R.

ARRIAN

ANABASIS OF ALEXANDER

BOOK V

ΑΡΡΙΑΝΟΥ

ΑΝΑΒΑΣΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΠΕΜΠΤΟΝ

I. Ἐν δὲ τῇ χώρᾳ ταύτῃ ἥντινα μεταξὺ τοῦ τε Κωφῆνος καὶ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπῆλθεν Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ Νῦσαν πόλιν ᾠκίσθαι λέγουσι·
2 τὸ δὲ κτίσμα εἶναι Διονύσου· Διόνυσον δὲ κτίσαι τὴν Νῦσαν ἐπεί τε Ἰνδοὺς ἐχειρώσατο, ὅστις δὴ οὗτος ὁ Διόνυσος καὶ ὁπότε ἢ ὅθεν ἐπ' Ἰνδοὺς ἐστράτευσεν· οὐ γὰρ ἔχω συμβαλεῖν εἰ ὁ Θηβαῖος Διόνυσος ἐκ Θηβῶν ἢ καὶ ἐκ Τμώλου τοῦ Λυδίου ὁρμηθεὶς ἐπ' Ἰνδοὺς ἧκε στρατιὰν ἄγων, τοσαῦτα μὲν ἔθνη μάχιμα καὶ ἄγνωστα τοῖς τότε Ἕλλησιν ἐπελθών, οὐδὲν δὲ αὐτῶν ἄλλο ὅτι μὴ τὸ Ἰνδῶν βίᾳ χειρωσάμενος· πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι οὐκ ἀκριβῆ ἐξεταστὴν χρὴ εἶναι τῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ θείου ἐκ παλαιοῦ μεμυθευμένων. Τὰ γάρ τοι κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ξυντιθέντι οὐ πιστά, ἐπειδὰν τὸ θεῖόν τις προσθῇ τῷ λόγῳ, οὐ πάντη ἄπιστα φαίνεται.

3 Ὡς δὲ ἐπέβη τῇ Νύσῃ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐκπέμπουσι παρ' αὐτὸν οἱ Νυσαῖοι τὸν κρατιστεύοντα σφῶν, ὄνομα δὲ ἦν αὐτῷ Ἄκουφις, καὶ ξὺν αὐτῷ πρέσβεις τῶν δοκιμωτάτων τριάκοντα,

ARRIAN

ANABASIS OF ALEXANDER

BOOK V

I. In the country through which Alexander passed, between the rivers Cophen and Indus, was situated, they say, the city Nysa,[1] founded by Dionysus; he founded it when he subdued the Indians, whoever this Dionysus was, and whenever or whence he marched against the Indians; for I for my part cannot gather whether the Theban Dionysus started from Thebes or from the Lydian Tmolus, and led an army against the Indians, invading all these warlike peoples, unknown to the Greeks of that time, and subduing no other part of them but the Indians; still, one must not be a precise critic of ancient legends about the divine beings. For things which —if you consider them merely from their probability —appear incredible, may, when one adds to one's story the divine element, prove by no means incredible.

When, however, Alexander approached Nysa, the people of Nysa sent out to him their chief, whose name was Acuphis, and with him thirty envoys from

[1] Jelalabad.

δεησομένους Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀφεῖναι τῷ θεῷ τὴν
4 πόλιν. Παρελθεῖν τε δὴ ἐς τὴν σκηνὴν τὴν
Ἀλεξάνδρου τοὺς πρέσβεις καὶ καταλαβεῖν κα-
θήμενον κεκονιμένον ἔτι ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ ξὺν τοῖς
ὅπλοις τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ τὸ κράνος αὐτῷ περι-
κείμενον καὶ τὸ δόρυ ἔχοντα· θαμβῆσαί τε
ἰδόντας τὴν ὄψιν καὶ πεσόντας ἐς γῆν ἐπὶ πολὺ
σιγὴν ἔχειν. Ὡς δὲ ἐξανέστησέ τε αὐτοὺς
Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ θαρρεῖν ἐκέλευσε, τότε δὴ τὸν
Ἄκουφιν ἀρξάμενον λέγειν ὧδε·
5 "Ὦ βασιλεῦ, δέονταί σου Νυσαῖοι ἐᾶσαι
σφᾶς ἐλευθέρους τε καὶ αὐτονόμους αἰδοῖ τοῦ
Διονύσου. Διόνυσος γὰρ ἐπειδὴ χειρωσάμενος
τὸ Ἰνδῶν ἔθνος ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ὀπίσω κατῄει τὴν
Ἑλληνικήν, ἐκ τῶν ἀπομάχων στρατιωτῶν, οἳ
δὴ αὐτῷ καὶ Βάκχοι ἦσαν, κτίζει τὴν πόλιν
τήνδε μνημόσυνον τῆς αὐτοῦ πλάνης τε καὶ νίκης
τοῖς ἔπειτα ἐσόμενον, καθάπερ οὖν καὶ σὺ αὐτὸς
Ἀλεξάνδρειάν τε ἔκτισας τὴν πρὸς Καυκάσῳ
ὄρει καὶ ἄλλην Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐν τῇ Αἰγυπτίων
γῇ, καὶ ἄλλας πολλὰς τὰς μὲν ἔκτισας ἤδη, τὰς
δὲ καὶ κτίσεις ἀνὰ χρόνον, οἷα δὴ πλείονα
6 Διονύσου ἔργα ἀποδειξάμενος. Νῦσαν τε οὖν
ἐκάλεσε τὴν πόλιν ὁ Διόνυσος ἐπὶ τῆς τροφοῦ
τῆς Νύσης καὶ τὴν χώραν Νυσαίαν· τὸ δὲ ὄρος
ὅ τιπερ πλησίον ἐστὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοῦτο
Μηρὸν ἐπωνόμασε Διόνυσος, ὅτι δὴ κατὰ τὸν
μῦθον ἐν μηρῷ τῷ τοῦ Διὸς ηὐξήθη. Καὶ ἐκ
τούτου ἐλευθέραν τε οἰκοῦμεν τὴν Νῦσαν καὶ
αὐτοὶ αὐτόνομοι καὶ ἐν κόσμῳ πολιτεύοντες· τῆς

their most notable men, to beg Alexander to leave their city to its god. The envoys, it is said, came into Alexander's pavilion, and found him sitting all dusty still from the journey, with his ordinary armour on him, and wearing a helmet and carrying his spear; they were amazed at the sight of him, and fell to the ground, and for a long time kept silence. But when Alexander raised them up and bade them take courage, then Acuphis began and spake as follows:

"The people of Nysa, O King, beg you to leave them free and independent, from reverence for Dionysus. For he, when he had subdued the nation of the Indians, and was returning towards the Greek Sea, founded, with his discharged soldiers, who were also his Bacchi,[1] this city, to be a memorial for those to come of his journey and his victory, even as you have yourself founded Alexandria by Mount Caucasus, and another Alexandria in Egypt, and you have both founded many other cities already, and will found more in course of time, thus giving proof of more achievements than those of Dionysus. Now Dionysus called this city Nysa in honour of his nurse Nysa, and the territory he called Nysaean; and the mountain near the city he named Merus (a thigh), since, according to the legend, he grew in the thigh of Zeus. From that time this city of Nysa in which we dwell has been free, and ourselves independent, and living as orderly citizens. And let this too be a

[1] That is, his band of revellers.

δὲ ἐκ Διονύσου οἰκίσεως καὶ τόδε σοι γενέσθω τεκμήριον· κιττὸς γὰρ οὐκ ἄλλῃ τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς φυόμενος παρ' ἡμῖν φύεται."

II. Καὶ ταῦτα πάντα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πρὸς θυμοῦ ἐγίγνετο ἀκούειν καὶ ἤθελε πιστὰ εἶναι τὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Διονύσου τῆς πλάνης μυθευόμενα· καὶ κτίσμα εἶναι Διονύσου τὴν Νῦσαν ἤθελεν, ὡς ἤδη τε ἥκειν αὐτὸς ἔνθα ἦλθε Διόνυσος καὶ ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα ἂν[1] ἐλθεῖν Διονύσου· οὐδ' ἂν Μακεδόνας τὸ πρόσω ἀπαξιῶσαι συμπονεῖν οἱ ἔτι κατὰ
2 ζῆλον τῶν Διονύσου ἔργων. Καὶ δίδωσιν ἐλευθέρους τε εἶναι τοὺς οἰκήτορας τῆς Νύσης καὶ αὐτονόμους. Ὡς δὲ καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἐπύθετο αὐτῶν καὶ ὅτι πρὸς τῶν ἀρίστων τὸ πολίτευμα ἔχεται, ταῦτά τε ἐπῄνεσε καὶ ἠξίωσε τῶν τε ἱππέων οἱ ξυμπέμψαι ἐς τριακοσίους καὶ τῶν προεστώτων τοῦ πολιτεύματος, ἦσαν δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τριακόσιοι, ἑκατὸν τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐπιλεξαμένους. Ἄκουφιν δὲ εἶναι τὸν ἐπιλεγόμενον, ὅντινα καὶ ὕπαρχον τῆς χώρας τῆς Νυσαίας
3 κατέστησεν αὐτός. Τὸν δὲ Ἄκουφιν ταῦτα ἀκούσαντα ἐπιμειδιάσαι λέγεται τῷ λόγῳ· καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐρέσθαι ἐφ' ὅτῳ ἐγέλασεν· ἀποκρίνασθαι δ' Ἄκουφιν· Καὶ πῶς ἄν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, μία πόλις ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐρημωθεῖσα ἔτι καλῶς πολιτεύοιτο; ἀλλὰ σύ, εἴ σοι μέλει Νυσαίων, τοὺς ἱππέας μὲν ἄγεσθαι τοὺς τριακοσίους καὶ εἰ βούλει, ἔτι τούτων πλείονας· ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν ἑκατόν, οὕστινας τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐπιλέξαι σὺ κελεύεις, διπλασίους τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κακῶν ἄγεσθαι, ἵνα σοι καὶ αὖθις ἀφικομένῳ δεῦρο ἐν

[1] ἂν added by Krüger.

proof that Dionysus was our founder; ivy grows nowhere else in India, but does grow with us."

II. All this was very pleasing for Alexander to hear, and he was very ready to believe the tale about the journey of Dionysus; he was ready also to credit that Nysa was founded by Dionysus, in which case he had already reached the point which Dionysus reached, and would go even farther than Dionysus. He thought also that the Macedonians would not refuse to endure toils with him still further, in rivalry with Dionysus' achievements. Alexander therefore granted continuance of freedom and independence to the settlers of Nysa. And when he had by inquiry ascertained their laws, and that their government was in the hands of the aristocrats, he expressed approval of this, at the same time demanding that they should send him three hundred horsemen, and also select and send a hundred of the chief men in the government (they also were three hundred in number). Acuphis was to select them, and Alexander also appointed him governor of the territory of Nysa. Then Acuphis is said to have smiled, on hearing this request; and when Alexander asked why he laughed, he replied: "How, O King, can a single city be deprived of a hundred good citizens and yet continue to be well governed? But if you care for the Nysaeans, let the three hundred horsemen be brought, and even more, if you wish; but instead of these hundred men, whom you desire me to choose out, the best we have, take twice the number of the inferior citizens, so that when you come hither again you may think the city to be in

τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ κόσμῳ φανείη ἡ πόλις. Ταῦτα
λέγοντα, λέγειν γὰρ δόξαι φρόνιμα, πεῖσαι
4 Ἀλέξανδρον. Καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας ξυμπέμπειν
οἱ ἐκέλευσε, τοὺς δὲ ἑκατὸν τοὺς ἐπιλέκτους
μηκέτι αἰτῆσαι, ἀλλὰ μηδ' ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἄλλους·
τὸν δὲ παῖδα ἄρα τοῦ Ἀκούφιος καὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς
τὸν παῖδα ξυμπέμψαι αὐτῷ Ἄκουφιν.
5 Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ πόθος ἔλαβεν ἰδεῖν τὸν χῶρον
ὅπου τινὰ ὑπομνήματα τοῦ Διονύσου οἱ Νυσαῖοι
ἐκόμπαζον. Ἐλθεῖν τε ἐς τὸ ὄρος τὸν Μηρὸν
ξὺν τοῖς ἑταίροις ἱππεῦσι καὶ τῷ πεζικῷ ἀγήματι
καὶ ἰδεῖν κισσοῦ τε ἀνάπλεων καὶ δάφνης τὸ
ὄρος καὶ ἄλση παντοῖα· καὶ ἰδεῖν[1] σύσκιον καὶ
6 θήρας ἐν αὐτῷ εἶναι θηρίων παντοδαπῶν. Καὶ
τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἡδέως τὸν κισσὸν ἰδόντας, οἷα
δὴ διὰ μακροῦ ὀφθέντα (οὐ γὰρ εἶναι ἐν τῇ
Ἰνδῶν χώρᾳ κισσόν, οὐδὲ ἵναπερ αὐτοῖς ἄμπελοι
ἦσαν), στεφάνους σπουδῇ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ποιεῖσθαι
καὶ στεφανώσασθαι ὡς εἶχον ἐφυμνοῦντας καὶ
Διόνυσόν τε καὶ τὰς ἐπωνυμίας τοῦ θεοῦ ἀνακα-
λοῦντας. Θῦσαί τε αὐτοῦ Ἀλέξανδρον τῷ
Διονύσῳ καὶ εὐωχηθῆναι ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἑταίροις.
7 Οἱ δὲ καὶ τάδε ἀνέγραψαν, εἰ δή τῳ πιστὰ καὶ
ταῦτα, πολλοὺς τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν τῶν οὐκ ἠμελη-
μένων Μακεδόνων τῷ τε κισσῷ ἐστεφανωμένους
καὶ ὑπὸ τῇ κατακλήσει[2] τοῦ θεοῦ κατασχεθῆναί

[1] ἴδην σύσκιον, Pflugk; I suggest ἴδῃ, since αὐτῷ looks back to ὄρος. But Arrian is not averse to repeating words; ἰδεῖν (*ter*) and ἰδόντας may well stand.

[2] κατακλήσει from *Excerpta περὶ γνωμῶν*, after ἀνακαλοῦντας, seems unlikely; A has κατακλίσει, "the feast." καταλήψει seems possible; see Eur. *Hipp.* 1347, πένθος θεόθεν καταληπτόν.

the same good order as now.' With these words, which appeared wise words, he won Alexander's consent. He bade Acuphis send the horsemen to accompany him, but no longer to demand the select hundred, and not even to send any substitutes in their place. Acuphis sent, however, with him his son, and his daughter's son.

Alexander then was seized with a desire to see the place where the Nysaeans proudly displayed certain memorials of Dionysus; he went to Mount Merus with the Companions' cavalry and his own company of infantry, and behold the mountain full of ivy and laurel, with all sorts of groves; he saw how shady it was, and that there were good hunting grounds in it of all sorts of game. The Macedonians were delighted to see the ivy, since they had seen none for a long time; for there is no ivy in the Indians' country, not even where they have vines; and they eagerly made wreaths of it and crowned themselves there and then, singing hymns to Dionysus and calling on the various names of the god. Then Alexander sacrificed there to Dionysus, and made good cheer with his Companions. Some have related (if anyone can believe this story) that many of the more exalted Macedonians who were with him crowned themselves with the ivy, and were, on this invocation of the god, possessed by Dionysus, raised

τε πρὸς τοῦ Διονύσου καὶ ἀνευάσαι τὸν θεὸν καὶ βακχεῦσαι.

III. Καὶ ταῦτα ὅπως τις ἐθέλει ὑπολαβὼν ἀπιστείτω ἢ πιστευέτω. Οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε Ἐρατοσθένει τῷ Κυρηναίῳ πάντῃ ξυμφέρομαι, ὃς λέγει πάντα ὅσα ἐς τὸ θεῖον ἀναφέρεται ἐκ Μακεδόνων πρὸς χάριν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐς τὸ
2 ὑπέρογκον ἐπιφημισθῆναι. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ σπήλαιον λέγει ἰδόντας ἐν Παραπαμισάδαις τοὺς Μακεδόνας καί τινα μῦθον ἐπιχώριον ἀκούσαντας ἢ καὶ αὐτοὺς ξυνθέντας φημίσαι ὅτι τοῦτο ἄρα ἦν τοῦ Προμηθέως τὸ ἄντρον, ἵνα ἐδέδετο, καὶ ὁ ἀετὸς ὅτι ἐκεῖσε ἐφοίτα δαισόμενος τῶν σπλάγχνων τοῦ Προμηθέως, καὶ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ὅτι ἐκεῖσε ἀφικόμενος τόν τε ἀετὸν ἀπέκτεινε καὶ
3 τὸν Προμηθέα τῶν δεσμῶν ἀπέλυσε. Τὸν δὲ Καύκασον τὸ ὄρος ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἕω μέρη τῆς γῆς καὶ τὴν Παραπαμισαδῶν χώραν ὡς ἐπὶ Ἰνδοὺς μετάγειν τῷ λόγῳ τοὺς Μακεδόνας, Παραπάμισον ὄντα τὸ ὄρος αὐτοὺς καλοῦντας Καύκασον τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἕνεκα δόξης, ὡς ὑπὲρ
4 τὸν Καύκασον ἄρα ἐλθόντα Ἀλέξανδρον. Ἔν τε αὐτῇ τῇ Ἰνδῶν γῇ βοῦς ἰδόντας ἐγκεκαυμένας ῥόπαλον τεκμηριοῦσθαι ἐπὶ τῷδε ὅτι Ἡρακλῆς ἐς Ἰνδοὺς ἀφίκετο. Ὅμοια δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ Διονύσου τῆς πλάνης ἀπιστεῖ Ἐρατοσθένης· ἐμοὶ δὲ ἐν μέσῳ κείσθων οἱ ὑπὲρ τούτων λόγοι.

5 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἀφίκετο ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμόν, καταλαμβάνει γέφυράν τε ἐπ' αὐτῷ πεποιημένην πρὸς Ἡφαιστίωνος καὶ πλοῖα πολλὰ μὲν σμικρότερα, δύο δὲ τριακοντόρους, καὶ παρὰ

the Dionysiac cry, and rushed hither and thither, in the Bacchic way.

III. However, these tales anyone may believe or not, taking them as he thinks fit. For I do not wholly agree with Eratosthenes the Cyrenaean,[1] who states that what the Macedonians say of the divine influence was much exaggerated to please Alexander. He says for instance that the Macedonians caught sight of a cave among the Parapamisadae, and hearing some local legend about it, or having agreed together, spread the rumour that this was Prometheus' cave, where he had been chained, and that the eagle used to visit there, to feed on Prometheus' liver, and that Heracles, arriving at this same spot, shot the eagle and released Prometheus from his chains. So the Macedonians transferred, in their account, Mount Caucasus from the Pontus to the eastern parts of the world and the country of the Parapamisadae, towards India, and called Mount Parapamisus Mount Caucasus, all for the glory of Alexander, suggesting that he had actually crossed Mount Caucasus. Then in India itself, when they saw cattle branded with a club, they deduced thence that Heracles had come to India. Similar stories about Dionysus' journeyings are rejected by Eratosthenes. As far as I am concerned, the stories of these things may rest open.

Alexander, arriving at the river Indus, found a bridge already made over it by Hephaestion, and many smaller boats, but also two of thirty oars. Also he found already arrived gifts from Taxiles the

[1] Eratosthenes of Cyrene, died about 196 B.C. A great scholar and scientist, best known as geometer, astronomer, and geographer.

Ταξίλου τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ δῶρα ἥκοντα ἀργυρίου μὲν
τάλαντα ἐς διακόσια, ἱερεῖα δὲ βοῦς μὲν τρισ-
χιλίους, πρόβατα δὲ ὑπὲρ μύρια, ἐλέφαντας
6 δὲ ἐς τριάκοντα. Καὶ ἱππεῖς δὲ ἑπτακόσιοι
αὐτῷ Ἰνδῶν ἐς ξυμμαχίαν παρὰ Ταξίλου ἧκον,
καὶ τὴν πόλιν Τάξιλα, τὴν μεγίστην μεταξὺ
Ἰνδοῦ τε ποταμοῦ καὶ Ὑδάσπου, ὅτι αὐτῷ
Ταξίλης ἐνδίδωσιν. Ἐνταῦθα θύει Ἀλέξανδρος
τοῖς θεοῖς ὅσοις αὐτῷ νόμος καὶ ἀγῶνα ποιεῖ
γυμνικὸν καὶ ἱππικὸν ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ· καὶ
γίγνεται αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει τὰ ἱερά.

IV. Ὁ δὲ Ἰνδὸς ποταμὸς ὅτι μέγιστος ποτα-
μῶν ἐστι τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν τε καὶ τὴν
Εὐρώπην, πλὴν Γάγγου, καὶ τούτου Ἰνδοῦ ποτα-
μοῦ, καὶ ὅτι αἱ πηγαί εἰσιν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ
ὄρους τοῦ Παραπαμίσου ἢ Καυκάσου, καὶ ὅτι
ἐκδίδωσιν εἰς τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν τὴν κατὰ
Ἰνδοὺς ὡς ἐπὶ νότον ἄνεμον, καὶ ὅτι δίστομός
ἐστιν ὁ Ἰνδὸς καὶ αἱ ἐκβολαὶ αὐτοῦ ἀμφότεραι
τεναγώδεις, καθάπερ αἱ πέντε τοῦ Ἴστρου, καὶ
ὅτι Δέλτα ποιεῖ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ Ἰνδῶν γῇ τῷ
Αἰγύπτου Δέλτα παραπλήσιον καὶ τοῦτο Πάτ-
ταλα καλεῖται τῇ Ἰνδῶν φωνῇ, ταῦτα μὲν ὑπὲρ
τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ, τὰ μάλιστα οὐκ ἀμφίλογα, καὶ ἐμοὶ
2 ἀναγεγράφθω. Ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ Ὑδάσπης καὶ Ἀκε-
σίνης καὶ Ὑδραώτης καὶ Ὕφασις, καὶ οὗτοι Ἰνδοὶ
ποταμοὶ ὄντες, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων τῶν Ἀσιανῶν
ποταμῶν πολύ τι κατὰ μέγεθος ὑπερφέρουσι·
τοῦ δὲ Ἰνδοῦ μείονες εἰσὶ καὶ πολὺ δὴ μείονες, ὅπου
καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἰνδὸς τοῦ Γάγγου. Κτησίας μέν, εἰ
δή τῳ ἱκανὸς καὶ Κτησίας εἰς τεκμηρίωσιν, ἵνα
μὲν στενώτατος αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἰνδός ἐστι, τεσ-

Indian, two hundred silver talents, and for sacrificial offerings three thousand cattle and over ten thousand sheep, with thirty elephants. There came also from Taxiles seven hundred cavalry as fighting allies, and Taxiles surrendered to him the city Taxila, the greatest city between the river Indus and the Hydaspes. There Alexander sacrificed to the gods to whom he usually offered sacrifice, and held a contest of athletics and cavalry games near the river; and the sacrifices were favourable to the crossing.

IV. That the river Indus is the greatest river of Asia and Europe except the Ganges, and this too is an Indian river; and that its springs are on this side of Mount Parapamisus or Caucasus, that it runs into the great Indian sea towards the south wind, that it has two mouths and both its outlets are marshy, like the five outlets of the Ister, and that it forms a delta also in the land of India analogous to the delta in Egypt, called Pattala in the Indian language—all this about the Indus, that namely which can least be gainsaid, permit me also to set down here. For the Hydaspes, Acesines, Hydraotes, and Hyphasis,[1] all also rivers of India, are much greater than the remaining rivers of Asia; yet they are smaller, in fact much smaller, than the Indus, as the Indus itself than the Ganges. Ctesias[2] indeed—if indeed Ctesias is of any use as a witness—says that where

[1] Modern names are Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, and Sutlej.

[2] Ctesias of Cnidus in Caria; contemporary with Xenophon; spent some time in Persia.

σαράκοντα σταδίους ὅτι διέχουσιν αὐτῷ αἱ ὄχθαι· ἵνα δὲ πλατύτατος, καὶ ἑκατόν· τὸ πολὺ δὲ εἶναι αὐτοῦ τὸ μέσον τούτοιν.

3 Τοῦτον τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Ἰνδὸν ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω διέβαινε ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐς τῶν Ἰνδῶν τὴν γῆν· ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐγὼ οὔτε οἵστισι νόμοις διαχρῶνται ἐν τῇδε τῇ συγγραφῇ ἀνέγραψα, οὔτε ζῷα εἰ δή τινα ἄτοπα ἡ χώρα αὐτοῖς ἐκφέρει, οὔτε ἰχθύας ἢ κήτη ὅσα ἢ οἷα ὁ Ἰνδὸς ἢ ὁ Ὑδάσπης ἢ ὁ Γάγγης ἢ ἄλλοι Ἰνδῶν ποταμοὶ φέρουσιν, οὐδὲ τοὺς μύρμηκας τοὺς τὸν χρυσόν σφισιν ἐργαζομένους, οὐδὲ τοὺς γρῦπας τοὺς φύλακας, οὐδὲ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐφ' ἡδονῇ μᾶλλόν τι πεποίηται ἢ ἐς ἀφήγησιν τῶν ὄντων, ὡς τά γε κατ' Ἰνδοὺς ὅσα ἂν ἄτοπα ψεύσωνται, οὐκ
4 ἐξελεγχθησόμενα πρὸς οὐδαμῶν. Ἀλλὰ Ἀλέξανδρος γὰρ καὶ οἱ ξὺν τούτῳ στρατεύσαντες τὰ πολλὰ ἐξήλεγξαν, ὅσα γε μὴ καὶ αὐτῶν ἔστιν οἳ ἐψεύσαντο· ἀχρύσους τε εἶναι Ἰνδοὺς ἐξήλεγξαν, ὅσους γε δὴ Ἀλέξανδρος ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐπῆλθε, πολλοὺς δὲ ἐπῆλθε, καὶ ἥκιστα χλιδῶντας κατὰ τὴν δίαιταν· ἀλλὰ μεγάλους μὲν τὰ σώματα, οἵους μεγίστους τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν, πενταπήχεις τοὺς πολλοὺς ἢ ὀλίγον ἀποδέοντας· καὶ μελαντέρους τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων, πλὴν Αἰθιόπων, καὶ τὰ πολέμια πολύ τι γενναιοτάτους τῶν
5 γε δὴ τότε ἐποίκων τῆς Ἀσίας. Τὸ γὰρ Περσῶν τῶν πάλαι, ξὺν οἷς ὁρμηθεὶς Κῦρος ὁ Καμβύσου Μήδους τε τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Ἀσίας ἀφείλετο καὶ

the Indus is narrowest, its banks are forty stades apart; but where broadest even a hundred; the greater part of its course is about half this.[1]

This river then, the Indus, Alexander crossed at dawn with his army, so entering the land of the Indians; about whom I have not in this history given any account either of their customs, or whether their country produces any strange animals, or of the size or kinds of fishes or sea-monsters which the Indus, or Hydaspes, or Ganges, or the other Indian rivers produce, or of their ants which mine for gold, or of the griffons[2] which keep watch, or of all the other curiosities rather invented for amusement than for accurate setting out of facts—since whatever ridiculous lies people tell about the Indians are not likely to be verified by anyone. Yet in fact Alexander and his fellow-soldiers did indeed verify the greater part of these—save a few false tales such as some even of themselves made up; and they did find out that the Indians have no gold—at least so many as Alexander visited in his campaign, and they were very numerous; and they are not at all luxurious in their way of living; but they are tall of stature, in fact the tallest men in Asia, five cubits, most of them, or very little short of it; and they are darker-skinned than the rest of mankind, except the Aethiopians; and in warlike matters much the noblest of the inhabitants of Asia at that time. For I cannot properly compare with the Indians the ancient Persians, with whom Cyrus son of Cambyses set forth and deprived the Medes of the sovereignty of Asia,

[1] Pliny and Strabo give 50 stades only; the actual width of the Indus is stated to be, at the most, 20 stades.

[2] See Herodotus, III. 116.

ἄλλα ἔθνη τὰ μὲν κατεστρέψατο, τὰ δὲ προσχωρήσαντά οἱ ἑκόντα κατέσχεν, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκῶς ὥς γε δὴ πρὸς τὰ Ἰνδῶν ξυμβαλεῖν. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ Πέρσαι τότε πένητές τε ἦσαν καὶ χώρας τραχείας οἰκήτορες, καὶ νόμιμά σφισιν ἦν οἷα ἐγγυτάτω εἶναι τῇ Λακωνικῇ παιδεύσει. Τὸ δὲ τραῦμα τὸ γενόμενον Πέρσαις ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ γῇ οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἔχω ἀτρεκῶς ξυμβαλεῖν πότερα δυσχωρίαις ξυνενεχθεῖσιν ἢ τινι ἄλλῃ Κύρου ἁμαρτίᾳ ξυνέβη ἢ Σκυθῶν γε τῶν ταύτῃ κακίους τὰ πολέμια Πέρσαι ἦσαν.

V. Ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ Ἰνδῶν ἰδίᾳ μοι γεγράψεται ὅσα πιστότατα ἐς ἀφήγησιν οἵ τε ξὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ στρατεύσαντες καὶ ὁ ἐκπεριπλεύσας τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης τὸ κατ' Ἰνδοὺς Νέαρχος,[1] ἐπὶ δὲ ὅσα Μεγασθένης τε καὶ Ἐρατοσθένης, δοκίμω ἄνδρε, ξυνεγραψάτην, καὶ νόμιμα ἅττα Ἰνδοῖς ἐστι καὶ εἰ δή τινα ἄτοπα ζῷα αὐτόθι φύεται καὶ τὸν
2 παράπλουν αὐτὸν τῆς ἔξω θαλάσσης. Νῦν δὲ ὅσον ἐς τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔργα ἀποχρῶν ἐφαίνετο, τοσόνδε μοι ἀναγεγράφθω· τὸν Ταῦρον τὸ ὄρος ἀπείργειν τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἀρχόμενον μὲν ἀπὸ Μυκάλης τοῦ καταντικρὺ Σάμου τῆς νήσου ὄρους, ἀποτεμνόμενον δὲ τήν τε Παμφύλων καὶ Κιλίκων γῆν ἔνθεν μὲν ὡς ἐς Ἀρμενίαν παρήκειν· ἀπὸ δ' Ἀρμενίων ὡς ἐπὶ Μηδίαν παρὰ Παρθυαίους τε
3 καὶ Χωρασμίους· κατὰ δὲ Βακτρίους ξυμβάλλειν τῷ Παραπαμίσῳ ὄρει, ὃ δὴ Καύκασον ἐκάλουν οἱ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ξυστρατεύσαντες Μακεδόνες, ὡς μὲν λέγεται τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου αὔξοντες, ὅτι δὴ καὶ ἐπ'

[1] Arrian here understands or forgets the verb.

and subdued some of the remaining peoples, and received the voluntary surrender of the rest. For the Persians then were poor, and dwelt in a rough country, and their customs were approximated as near as possible to the Spartan educational system. Nor can I properly compare the wound dealt to the Persians in Scythia, so as to say whether it happened because they fell in with difficulties of the country, or by some other error of Cyrus, or whether the Persians were actually inferior in warfare to the Scythians of this region.

V. However, about India I shall write a special monograph [1] based on all the most reliable facts from Alexander's fellow-campaigners and Nearchus, who coasted along the part of the Great Sea which lies towards India, adding besides all that Megasthenes and Eratosthenes, who are both men of repute, have written; the customs of India, any strange beasts which live there, and the voyage round it by the Outer Sea. But now let what I have written down suffice, so far as seemed necessary to the account of Alexander's achievements; namely, that Mount Taurus is the boundary of Asia, beginning from Mycale, the mountain over against the island of Samos; then cutting through between the land of Pamphylia and Lycia, thence reaches to Armenia; and from Armenia runs to Media by way of the Parthyaeans and Chorasmians; and in Bactria joins Mount Parapamisus, which the Macedonians who served with Alexander called Mount Caucasus, with a view (so it is said) of glorifying Alexander, as suggesting that Alexander reached even the farther

[1] This is the *Indica* included in this volume.

ἐκεῖνα ἄρα τοῦ Καυκάσου κρατῶν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἦλθεν Ἀλέξανδρος· τυχὸν δὲ καὶ ξυνεχὲς τυγχάνει ὂν τοῦτο τὸ ὄρος τῷ ἄλλῳ τῷ Σκυθικῷ Καυκάσῳ, καθάπερ οὖν αὐτῷ τούτῳ ὁ Ταῦρος· καὶ ἐμοὶ αὐτῷ πρότερόν ποτε ἐπὶ τῷδε λέλεκται Καύκασος τὸ ὄρος τοῦτο καὶ ὕστερον τῷδε τῷ ὀνόματι κλη-
4 θήσεται. Τὸν δὲ Καύκασον τοῦτον καθήκειν ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάλην τὴν πρὸς ἕω τε καὶ Ἰνδοὺς θάλασσαν. Τοὺς οὖν ποταμοὺς ὅσοι κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν λόγου ἄξιοι ἐκ τοῦ Ταύρου τε καὶ τοῦ Καυκάσου ἀνίσχοντας τοὺς μὲν ὡς ἐπ' ἄρκτον τετραμμένον ἔχειν τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τούτων τοὺς μὲν ἐς τὴν λίμνην ἐνδιδόναι τὴν Μαιῶτιν, τοὺς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ὑρκανίαν καλουμένην θάλασσαν, καὶ ταύτην
5 κόλπον οὖσαν τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης· τοὺς δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ νότον ἄνεμον τὸν Εὐφράτην τε εἶναι καὶ τὸν Τίγρητα καὶ τὸν Ἰνδόν τε καὶ τὸν Ὑδάσπην καὶ Ἀκεσίνην καὶ Ὑδραώτην καὶ Ὕφασιν καὶ ὅσοι ἐν μέσῳ τούτων τε καὶ τοῦ Γάγγου ποταμοῦ ἐς θάλασσαν καὶ οὗτοι ἐσβάλλουσιν ἢ εἰς τενάγη ἀναχεόμενοι ἀφανίζονται, καθάπερ ὁ Εὐφράτης ποταμὸς ἀφανίζεται.

VI. Ὅτῳ δὴ τὰ τῆς Ἀσίας ὧδε ἔχει ὡς πρὸς τοῦ Ταύρου τε καὶ τοῦ Καυκάσου τέμνεσθαι ἀπ' ἀνέμου ζεφύρου ὡς ἐπ' ἀπηλιώτην ἄνεμον τὴν Ἀσίαν, τούτῳ δύο μὲν αὗται μέγισται πρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ταύρου τῆς Ἀσίας μοῖραι γίγνονται, ἡ μὲν ἐς μεσημβρίαν τε καὶ πρὸς νότον ἄνεμον κεκλιμένη, ἡ δὲ ἐπ' ἄρκτον τε καὶ ἄνεμον
2 Βορρᾶν. Τῆς δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ νότον Ἀσίας τετραχῇ αὖ τεμνομένης μεγίστην μὲν μοῖραν τὴν Ἰνδῶν γῆν ποιεῖ Ἐρατοσθένης τε καὶ Μεγασθένης, ὃς

side of Mount Caucasus in his victorious career. Perhaps, however, this mountain is continuous with the other Caucasus, that is, the Scythian; just as Mount Taurus is continuous with this Caucasus. For this reason I have previously called this mountain Caucasus, and shall continue so to call it later. This Caucasus reaches to the great eastern sea, towards India. Thus all the important rivers of Asia rise from Mounts Taurus and Caucasus; and a part of them turn their streams northward, and of them some pass out into Lake Maeotis; others into the sea called the Hyrcanian, itself a gulf of the Great Sea; a part again turn southward, the Euphrates, Tigris, Indus, Hydaspes, Acesines, Hydraotes, and Hyphasis, and any which are between these and the Ganges and run out into the sea or are diffused over marshy ground and so disappear, as the Euphrates disappears.

VI. Anyone who surveys Asia so that it is divided by Mounts Taurus and Caucasus from west to east will find that the two greatest divisions of Asia are formed by Mount Taurus itself, the one looking towards the south and the south wind, the other to the north and the north wind. Then the southern part of Asia may again be divided into four parts, and of these Eratosthenes and Megasthenes regard

ξυνῆν μὲν Σιβυρτίῳ τῷ σατράπῃ τῆς Ἀραχωσίας, πολλάκις δὲ λέγει ἀφικέσθαι παρὰ Σανδράκοττον τὸν Ἰνδῶν βασιλέα· ἐλαχίστην δὲ ὅσην ὁ Εὐφράτης ποταμὸς ἀπείργει ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἐντὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν θάλασσαν. Δύο δὲ αἱ μεταξὺ Εὐφράτου τε ποταμοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἀπειργόμεναι αἱ δύο ξυντεθεῖσαι μόλις ἄξιαι τῇ
3 Ἰνδῶν γῇ ξυμβαλεῖν. Ἀπείργεσθαι δὲ τὴν Ἰνδῶν χώραν πρὸς μὲν ἕω τε καὶ ἀπηλιώτην ἄνεμον ἔστε ἐπὶ μεσημβρίαν τῇ μεγάλῃ θαλάσσῃ· τὸ πρὸς βορρᾶν δὲ αὐτῆς ἀπείργειν τὸν Καύκασον τὸ ὄρος ἔστε ἐπὶ τοῦ Ταύρου τὴν ξυμβολήν· τὴν δὲ πρὸς ἑσπέραν τε καὶ ἄνεμον Ἰάπυγα ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν ὁ Ἰνδὸς ποταμὸς ἀποτέμνεται. Καὶ ἔστι πεδίον ἡ πολλὴ αὐτῆς, καὶ τοῦτο, ὡς εἰκάζουσιν, ἐκ τῶν ποταμῶν προσκεχωσ-
4 μένον. Εἶναι γὰρ οὖν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης χώρας ὅσα πεδία οὐ πρόσω θαλάσσης τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ποταμῶν παρ' ἑκάστοις ποιήματα, ὡς δὲ[1] καὶ τῆς χώρας τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τοῖς ποταμοῖς ἐκ παλαιοῦ προσκεῖσθαι, καθάπερ Ἕρμου τέ τι πεδίον λέγεσθαι, ὃς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν γῆν ἀνίσχων ἐξ ὄρους Μητρὸς Δινδυμήνης παρὰ πόλιν Σμύρναν Αἰολικὴν ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς θάλασσαν· καὶ ἄλλο Καΰστρου πεδίον Λύδιον καὶ Λυδίου[2] ποταμοῦ, καὶ Καΐκου ἄλλο ἐν Μυσίᾳ καὶ Μαιάνδρου τὸ Καρικὸν ἔστε ἐπὶ Μίλητον πόλιν Ἰωνικήν.
5 Αἴγυπτόν τε Ἡρόδοτός τε καὶ Ἑκαταῖος οἱ λογοποιοί, ἢ εἴ δή του ἄλλου ἢ Ἑκαταίου ἐστὶ

[1] ὡς δὲ (A ὧς δὲ) Roos.
[2] καὶ Λυδίου A. Dübner reads καὶ αὐτὸ, without valid reason.

as the greatest part the region of India—Megasthenes dwelt with the satrap of Arachosia, Sibyrtius, and writes that he often visited Sandracottus,[1] the king of the Indians; the smallest part, that bounded by the Euphrates, looks towards our inland sea. The other two parts lie between the Euphrates and the Indus, and these two put together can hardly be compared with the territory of India. India itself both east and west, right down to the south, is bounded by the Great Sea; its northern part is bounded by Mount Caucasus till its junction with Mount Taurus: then to the west, and the north-west wind, as far as the Great Sea, the Indus forms its boundary. The greater part of it is level plain, and this, as is conjectured, is alluvial, formed by the rivers. In other parts of the country also such plains as are near the sea for the most part are the result each of its neighbouring river; so too the name of the country from ancient times was attached to the rivers. Thus there is a plain of Hermus, which river rises in Asia from the mountain of Mother Dindymene and runs into the sea near the city of Smyrna in Aeolia; then there is another plain, that of Cayster, a Lydian plain and named from a Lydian river, another plain of Caicus, in Mysia, and the Carian plain of Maeander, stretching to Miletus, the Ionian city. Egypt also the historians Herodotus[2] and Hecataeus (though possibly the work

[1] Sandracottus or Chandraguptaa.
[2] Book II.

τὰ ἀμφὶ τῇ γῇ τῇ Αἰγυπτίᾳ ποιήματα, δῶρόν τε τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀμφότεροι ὡσαύτως ὀνομάζουσι καὶ οὐκ ἀμαυροῖς τεκμηρίοις ὅτι ταύτῃ ἔχει Ἡροδότῳ ἐπιδέδεικται, ὡς καὶ τὴν γῆν αὐτὴν τυχὸν τοῦ ποταμοῦ εἶναι ἐπώνυμον. Αἴγυπτος γὰρ τὸ παλαιὸν ὁ ποταμὸς ὅτι ἐκαλεῖτο ὅντινα νῦν Νεῖλον Αἰγύπτιοί τε καὶ οἱ ἔξω Αἰγύπτου ἄνθρωποι ὀνομάζουσιν, ἱκανὸς τεκμηριῶσαι Ὅμηρος, λέγων ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκβολῇ τοῦ Αἰγύπτου
6 ποταμοῦ τὸν Μενέλεων στῆσαι τὰς νέας. Εἰ δὴ οὖν εἷς τε ποταμὸς παρ' ἑκάστοις καὶ οὐ μεγάλοι οὗτοι ποταμοὶ ἱκανοὶ γῆν πολλὴν ποιῆσαι ἐς θάλασσαν προχεόμενοι, ὁπότε ἰλὺν καταφέροιεν, καὶ πηλὸν ἐκ τῶν ἄνω τόπων ἔνθενπερ αὐτοῖς αἱ πηγαί εἰσιν, οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἰνδῶν ἄρα χώρας εἰς ἀπιστίαν ἰέναι ἄξιον, ὅπως πεδίον τε ἡ πολλή ἐστι καὶ ἐκ τῶν ποτα-
7 μῶν τὸ πεδίον ἔχει προσκεχωσμένον. Ἕρμον μὲν γὰρ καὶ Κάυστρον καὶ Κάϊκόν τε καὶ Μαίανδρον ἢ ὅσοι ἄλλοι ποταμοὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐς τήνδε τὴν ἐντὸς θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοῦσιν οὐδὲ σύμπαντας ξυντεθέντας ἑνὶ τῶν Ἰνδῶν ποταμῶν ἄξιον συμβαλεῖν πλήθους ἕνεκα τοῦ ὕδατος, μὴ ὅτι τῷ Γάγγῃ τῷ μεγίστῳ, ὅτῳ οὔτε τὸ Νείλου ὕδωρ τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου οὔτε ὁ Ἴστρος ὁ κατὰ τὴν
8 Εὐρώπην ῥέων ἄξιοι ξυμβαλεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῷ Ἰνδῷ ποταμῷ ἐκεῖνοί γε πάντες ξυμμιχθέντες ἐς ἴσον ἔρχονται, ὃς μέγας τε εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πηγῶν ἀνίσχει καὶ πεντεκαίδεκα ποταμούς, πάντας τῶν Ἀσιανῶν μείζονας, παραλαβὼν καὶ τῇ ἐπωνυμίᾳ κρατήσας οὕτως ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς θάλασσαν. Ταῦτά μοι ἐν τῷ παρόντι περὶ Ἰνδῶν

on Egypt is by another than Hecataeus) both call similarly "the gift of the river," and Herodotus has shown by very clear proofs that this is so, owing to the coincidence of country and river sharing the same name. For that Aegyptus was the old name of the river which the Egyptians and others living outside Egypt call the Nile, Homer is ample evidence, when he says that Menelaus stationed his ships at the mouth of the river Aegyptus. Since, therefore, any one river, each in various parts of the world, and not great rivers either, can while flowing seaward build up a great stretch of land, by bringing down mud and deposits from the upper lands where are their springs, there is no reason for disbelief about the country of India either, how it comes to be for the most part plain, and has its plain formed by the alluvial deposits of the rivers: as for Hermus and Cayster and Caicus and Maeander or any other rivers of Asia which run out into this inner sea, if you put them all together, you could not, for volume of water, compare them with one of the rivers of India—to say nothing of the largest, Ganges, with which not even the volume of the Nile in Egypt nor the Ister[1] which flows through Europe is worthy to be compared, nay, not even if all were put together do they equal the river Indus, which rises a great river at its very springs, and takes in fifteen tributaries, all greater than the Asian rivers, and, imposing its name as it goes, runs out to join the sea. This for the present

[1] The Danube.

τῆς χώρας λελέχθω· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀποκείσθω ἐς τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ξυγγραφήν.

VII. Τὸ δὲ ζεῦγμα τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ ὅπως μὲν ἐποιήθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, οὔτε Ἀριστόβουλος οὔτε Πτολεμαῖος, οἷς μάλιστα ἐγὼ ἕπομαι, λέγουσιν· οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἔχω ἀτρεκῶς εἰκάσαι, πότερα πλοίοις ἐζεύχθη ὁ πόρος, καθάπερ οὖν ὁ Ἑλλήσποντός τε πρὸς Ξέρξου καὶ ὁ Βόσπορός τε καὶ ὁ Ἴστρος πρὸς Δαρείου, ἢ γέφυρα κατὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ διηνεκὴς ἐποιήθη αὐτῷ· δοκεῖ δὲ ἔμοιγε πλοίοις μᾶλλον ζευχθῆναι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν δέξασθαι γέφυραν τὸ βάθος τοῦ ὕδατος, οὐδ' ἂν ἐν τοσῷδε χρόνῳ ἔργον οὕτως ἄτοπον ξυντε-
2 λεσθῆναι. Εἰ δὲ δὴ πλοίοις ἐζεύχθη ὁ πόρος, πότερα ξυνδεθεῖσαι αἱ νῆες σχοίνοις καὶ κατὰ στοῖχον ὁρμισθεῖσαι ἐς τὸ ζεῦγμα ἀπήρκεσαν, ὡς λέγει Ἡρόδοτος ὁ Ἁλικαρνασεὺς ζευχθῆναι τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ἢ ὅτῳ τρόπῳ Ῥωμαίοις ἐπὶ τῷ Ἴστρῳ ποταμῷ ζεῦγμα ποιεῖται καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ Ῥήνῳ τῷ Κελτικῷ, καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην καὶ τὸν Τίγρητα, ὁσάκις κατέλαβεν αὐτοὺς ἀνάγκη,
3 ἐγεφύρωσαν, οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἔχω ξυμβαλεῖν. Καίτοι γε ταχυτάτη ὧν ἐγὼ οἶδα Ῥωμαίοις ἡ γεφύρωσις ἡ διὰ τῶν νεῶν γίγνεται, καὶ ταύτην ἐγὼ ἀφηγήσομαι ἐν τῷ παρόντι, ὅτι λόγου ἀξία. Αἱ νῆες αὐτοῖς κατὰ τοῦ ῥοῦ[1] ἀφίενται ἀπὸ ξυνθήματος, οὐκ ἐπ' εὐθύ, ἀλλὰ καθάπερ αἱ πρύμναν κρουόμεναι. Ταύτας ὑποφέρει μέν, οἷα εἰκός, ὁ ῥοῦς, ἀνέχει δὲ κελήτιον ἐπῆρες, ἔστ' ἂν καταστήσῃ ἐς τὸ τεταγμένον χωρίον· καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἤδη καθίεται πλέγματα ἐκ λύγου πυραμοειδῆ πλήρη λίθων

[1] τοῦ ῥοῦ Krüger. πόρου A.

must be all I have to say about India; the rest must be put aside for my Indian History.

VII. As for the method by which Alexander bridged the Indus, neither Aristobulus nor Ptolemaeus, the authors whom I chiefly follow, describe it; nor can I myself make a reasonable conjecture, whether the passage was bridged by boats,[1] as the Hellespont by Xerxes and the Bosporus and Ister by Dareius,[2] or whether a continuous bridge was built across the stream. I am inclined to the idea that the bridging was by boats; since the depth of the river would not admit of a bridge, nor could so extraordinary a work have been completed in so little time. Again, if the stream was bridged with boats, whether the boats were lashed together by ropes and then moored in order and so formed the bridge, as Herodotus of Halicarnassus says that the Hellespont was bridged; or in the way in which the Roman bridge is made on the Ister, and on the Celtic Rhine, and in which they bridged the Euphrates and Tigris, as often as they were obliged to do so—this too I cannot say. Yet the quickest way of bridging I know is the Roman by use of boats, and I shall here describe it, for it merits description. The boats are, at the given signal, allowed to float down-stream, yet not bows on, but as if backing. So then the stream, as is natural, carries them down, but a rowing boat holds them up till it manoeuvres them into the appointed place. Then wicker crates made pyramid-

[1] So Diodorus, xvii. 86.
[2] Herodotus, IV. 118, VII. 33.

λογάδων ἀπὸ πρῴρας ἑκάστης νεώς, τοῦ ἀνέχειν
4 τὴν ναῦν πρὸς τὸν ῥοῦν. Ὅτε δὲ δὴ μία τις
τῶν νεῶν ἅμα δὴ ἐσχέθη, καὶ ἄλλη, ἀπὸ ταύτης
διέχουσα ὅσον ξύμμετρον πρὸς ἰσχὺν τῶν ἐπι-
βαλλομένων, ἀντίπρῳρος πρὸς τὸ ῥεῦμα ὁρμί-
ζεται· καὶ ἐπ'[1] ἀμφοῖν ξύλα τε ἐς εὐθὺ ὀξέως
ἐπιβάλλεται καὶ σανίδες ἐγκάρσιαι ἐς τὸ ξυνδεῖν.
Καὶ διὰ πασῶν οὕτω τῶν νεῶν, ὅσαι ἱκαναὶ
5 γεφυρῶσαι τὸν πόρον, χωρεῖ τὸ ἔργον. Ἑκα-
τέρωθεν δὲ τοῦ ζεύγματος κλίμακες προβάλ-
λονται καταπηγνύμεναι, τοῦ ἀσφαλεστέραν τοῖς
τε ἵπποις καὶ τοῖς ζεύγεσι τὴν ἔφοδον γίγνεσθαι,
καὶ ἅμα ὡς σύνδεσμος εἶναι τοῦ ζεύγματος· δι'
ὀλίγου τε ξυντελεῖται ἅπαν καὶ ξὺν πολλῷ
θορύβῳ, καὶ τὸ τεταγμένον ἐν τῷ δρωμένῳ ὅμως
οὐκ ἄπεστιν· οἵ τε παρακελευσμοὶ ὡς τύχοιεν
κατὰ ναῦν ἑκάστην καὶ αἱ ἐπιτιμήσεις τοῦ
ἐκλιποῦς οὔτε τὴν κατάκουσιν τῶν παραγ-
γελμάτων οὔτε τὴν ὀξύτητα τοῦ ἔργου ἀφαιροῦν-
ται.

VIII. Ῥωμαίοις μὲν δὴ οὕτω ταῦτα ἐκ παλαιοῦ
ἐπήσκηται· Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ ὅπως ἐζεύχθη ὁ Ἰνδὸς
ποταμὸς οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, ὅτι μηδὲ οἱ συστρατεύσαν-
τες αὐτῷ εἶπον. Ἀλλά μοι δοκεῖ ὡς ἐγγυτάτω
τούτων ἐζεῦχθαι, ἢ εἰ δή τινι ἄλλῃ μηχανῇ, ἐκείνη
2 ἐχέτω. Ὡς δὲ διέβη πέραν τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ
ἐνταῦθα αὖ θύει κατὰ νόμον Ἀλέξανδρος. Ἄρας
δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἐς Τάξιλα ἀφίκετο, πόλιν
μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα, τὴν μεγίστην τῶν μεταξὺ
Ἰνδοῦ τε ποταμοῦ καὶ Ὑδάσπου. Καὶ ἐδέχετο

[1] Dübner's ἀν' is very awkward, though the planks would, of course, run from ship to ship.

shape full of unhewn stones are let down from the bows of each ship to hold it against the stream. And when one ship is thus made fast, and then another, just at the right interval to carry the superstructure safely, it is anchored head up-stream; and on both boats timbers are accurately and smartly laid,[1] and planks crosswise to bind them together. Then the work goes on throughout all the boats, so many as are needed for the bridging. On either side of the bridge ladders[2] are thrown out, and made fast, so that the passage may be safer for horses and baggage animals, and also to bind the bridge together; and in quite a short time, and with much bustle, the whole work is completed; and yet there is good order in the course of the work; instructions called from ship to ship, and reproofs of shirked work, do not spoil the hearing of the orders, nor the speed of the operation.

VIII. These then are the long-established methods of the Romans; but how Alexander bridged the Indus I do not pretend to say, for even those who served under him did not tell us. Still, I am inclined to think that he approximated to this way of bridging; yet if it was by some other means, let it pass. After taking his army across, Alexander sacrificed there too as was customary. Then leaving the Indus he marched to Taxila, a great and prosperous city. It is indeed the largest of all which lie between the river Indus and the Hydaspes. He was received there by Taxiles,

[1] *ἐς εὐθὺ* might mean "fore-and-aft"; *ὀξέως* seems to be a military adverb, "smartly," "instantly."
[2] Apparently as a light bulwark.

αὐτὸν Ταξίλης ὁ ὕπαρχος τῆς πόλεως καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ τῇδε Ἰνδοὶ φιλίως· καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος προστίθησιν αὐτοῖς χώραν τῆς ὁμόρου ὅσης ἐδέοντο.
3 Ἧκον δὲ ἐνταῦθα παρ' αὐτὸν καὶ παρὰ Ἀβισάρου πρέσβεις τοῦ τῶν ὀρείων Ἰνδῶν βασιλέως ὅ τε ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Ἀβισάρου καὶ ἄλλοι ξὺν αὐτῷ οἱ δοκιμώτατοι, καὶ παρὰ Δοξάρεως νομάρχου ἄλλοι, δῶρα φέροντες. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα αὖ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν Ταξίλοις θύει ὅσα οἱ νόμος, καὶ ἀγῶνα ποιεῖ γυμνικόν τε καὶ ἱππικόν. Καὶ ἀποδείξας σατράπην τῶν ταύτῃ Ἰνδῶν Φίλιππον τὸν Μαχάτα φρουράν τε ἀπολείπει ἐν Ταξίλοις καὶ τοὺς ἀπομάχους τῶν στρατιωτῶν διὰ νόσον· αὐτὸς δὲ ἦγεν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Ὑδάσπην ποταμόν.
4 Ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα γὰρ τοῦ Ὑδάσπου Πῶρος αὐτῷ εἶναι ἐξηγγέλλετο ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ πάσῃ, ἐγνωκὼς εἴργειν τοῦ πόρου αὐτὸν ἢ περῶντι ἐπιτίθεσθαι. Ταῦτα ὡς ἔγνω Ἀλέξανδρος, Κοῖνον μὲν τὸν Πολεμοκράτους πέμψας ὀπίσω ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμόν, τὰ πλοῖα ὅσα παρεσκεύαστο αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ πόρου τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ξυντεμόντα κελεύει φέρειν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν
5 Ὑδάσπην ποταμόν. Καὶ ξυνετμήθη τε τὰ πλοῖα καὶ ἐκομίσθη αὐτῷ, ὅσα μὲν βραχύτερα διχῇ διατμηθέντα, αἱ τριακόντοροι δὲ τριχῇ ἐτμήθησαν, καὶ τὰ τμήματα ἐπὶ ζευγῶν διεκομίσθη ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν ὄχθην τοῦ Ὑδάσπου· κἀκεῖ ξυμπηχθὲν τὸ ναυτικὸν αὖθις δὴ ὁμοῦ ὤφθη ἐν τῷ Ὑδάσπῃ. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν ἥν τε δύναμιν ἔχων ἧκεν ἐς Τάξιλα καὶ πεντακισχιλίους τῶν Ἰνδῶν οὓς Ταξίλης τε καὶ οἱ ταύτῃ ὕπαρχοι ἦγον ᾔει ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Ὑδάσπην ποταμόν.

IX. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρός τε κατεστρατοπέδευσεν

the governor of the city, and the Indians of this district, in a friendly manner; and Alexander added to them so much of the neighbouring territory as they requested. Here then joined him envoys from Abisares, the king of the Indian hill-tribes, and the brother of Abisares and others with him, the most notable men, others also from Doxareus the governor of the district, bringing gifts. There also, at Taxila, Alexander offered the customary sacrifices, and held an athletic and cavalry contest. He appointed Philip son of Machatas satrap of the Indians of this territory, and left behind a garrison, and any invalided soldiers he had; then he marched on towards the river Hydaspes.

For he had learnt that Porus was on the far side of the Hydaspes with all his army, determined to prevent his crossing, or at least to attack him, should he attempt it. On learning this, Alexander sent Coenus son of Polemocrates back to the river Indus, ordering him to take to pieces the boats that had been got ready at the crossing of the Indus and bring them to the Hydaspes. The boats were duly dismembered and transported; the shorter ones in two sections, but the thirty-oar ships cut into three, and the sections were brought in carts to the bank of the Hydaspes. There the flotilla was put together again, and again seen in full force, now on the Hydaspes. Then Alexander, taking the force with which he arrived at Taxila and also five thousand Indians, led by Taxiles and the governors of the district, marched to the Hydaspes.

IX. On the bank of the Hydaspes Alexander

ἐπὶ τῇ ὄχθῃ τοῦ Ὑδάσπου, καὶ Πῶρος κατὰ τὴν ἀντιπέραν ὄχθην ὤφθη ξὺν πάσῃ τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων τῷ στίφει. Ταύτῃ μὲν δὴ ᾗ κατεστρατοπεδευκότα εἶδεν Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτὸς μένων ἐφύλαττε τὸν πόρον, ὅσα δὲ ἄλλα τοῦ ποταμοῦ εὐπορώτερα, ἐπὶ ταῦτα φρουρὰς διαπέμψας καὶ ἡγεμόνας ἐπιστήσας ἑκάστοις εἴργειν
2 ἐπενόει ἀπὸ τοῦ πόρου τοὺς Μακεδόνας. Ταῦτα δὲ ὁρῶντι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ κινητέα καὶ αὐτῷ ἐδόκει ἡ στρατιὰ πολλαχῇ, ὡς τὸν Πῶρον ἀμφίβολον γίγνεσθαι. Διελὼν δὲ ἐς πολλὰ τὸν στρατόν, τοὺς μὲν αὐτὸς ἄλλῃ καὶ ἄλλῃ ἦγε τῆς χώρας, τὰ μὲν πορθῶν ὅσα πολέμια, τὰ δὲ σκοπῶν ὅπη εὐπορώτερος αὐτῷ ὁ ποταμὸς φανεῖται, τοὺς δὲ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἄλλοις καὶ ἄλλοις ἐπιτάξας καὶ αὐτοὺς
3 πολλαχῇ διέπεμπε. Σῖτος δὲ αὐτῷ πάντοθεν ἐκ τῆς ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ὑδάσπου χώρας ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ξυνεκομίζετο, ὡς δῆλον εἶναι τῷ Πώρῳ ὅτι ἐγνωκὼς εἴη προσλιπαρεῖν τῇ ὄχθῃ, ἔστε τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μεῖον γενόμενον τοῦ χειμῶνος πολλαχῇ παραδοῦναί οἱ τὸν πόρον· τά τε πλοῖα αὐτῷ ἄλλῃ καὶ ἄλλῃ παραπλέοντα καὶ αἱ διφθέραι τῆς κάρφης ἐμπιπλάμεναι καὶ ἡ ὄχθη πλήρης πᾶσα φαινομένη τῇ μὲν ἱππέων, τῇ δὲ πεζῶν, οὐκ εἴα ἠρεμεῖν τὸν Πῶρον, οὐδὲ ἕν τι ἐπιλεξάμενον ἐς φυλακὴν ξύμφορον, ἐς τοῦτο ἐκ πάντων παρασκευάζεσθαι.
4 Ἄλλως τε ἐν μὲν τῷ τότε οἱ ποταμοὶ πάντες οἱ Ἰνδικοὶ πολλοῦ τε ὕδατος καὶ θολεροῦ ἔρρεον καὶ ὀξέος τοῦ ῥεύματος· ἦν γὰρ ὥρα ἔτους ᾗ μετὰ τροπὰς[1] μάλιστα ἐν θέρει τρέπεται ὁ ἥλιος·

[1] Perhaps μετὰ τροπάς, "on the turn."

pitched his camp; and Porus was observed on the opposite bank with all his forces and with his squadron of elephants. Where Porus observed that Alexander had encamped, he guarded the crossing himself; but at the other parts of the river where a crossing was possible he posted guards, appointing commanders to each guard, and determined to keep the Macedonians from attempting to cross. Alexander observing this thought well himself to move his army about in different directions, so as to keep Porus in uncertainty. He therefore broke up his army into several detachments, and some he led hither and thither over the country, partly destroying any enemy possessions, and partly reconnoitring for good places for crossing the river; other troops he attached to different commanders, one after another, and kept sending them also in different directions. Supplies came into his camp from all directions of the country this side of the Hydaspes, so that it was evident to Porus that he had determined to keep to the bank, until the water of the river falling during the winter gave him a chance of crossing the river at various points. His boats too sailing along in this and that direction, the rafts made of skins being filled with the chaff,[1] and the bank filled with troops, here cavalry and there infantry, gave Porus no chance of rest, nor permitted him to choose one position most suitable for guarding and concentrate upon that. Then, besides, about that time all the rivers of India were running with a big and turbulent stream, and with a swift current; for it was the season when the sun is just making its bend towards the

[1] See on these rafts below. The chaff evidently acted like kapok, giving buoyancy.

ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ ὥρᾳ ὕδατά τε ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἀθρόα τε καταφέρεται ἐς τὴν γῆν τὴν Ἰνδικήν, καὶ αἱ χιόνες αἱ τοῦ Καυκάσου, ἔνθενπερ τῶν πολλῶν ποταμῶν αἱ πηγαί εἰσι, κατατηκόμεναι αὔξουσιν αὐτοῖς τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπὶ μέγα· χειμῶνος δὲ ἔμπαλιν ἴσχουσιν, ὀλίγοι τε γίγνονται καὶ καθαροὶ ἰδεῖν καὶ ἔστιν ὅπου περάσιμοι, πλήν γε δὴ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ καὶ Γάγγου, καὶ τυχὸν καὶ ἄλλου του· ἀλλ' ὅ γ' Ὑδάσπης περατὸς γίγνεται.

X. Ταύτην οὖν τὴν ὥραν τοῦ ἔτους προσμένειν ἐς τὸ φανερὸν ἔφασκεν, εἰ ἐν τῷ τότε εἴργοιτο. ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν μεῖον ἐφεδρεύων ἔμενεν, εἴ πῃ λάθοι ὑφαρπάσας ὀξέως τὸν πόρον. Ἧι μὲν δὴ αὐτὸς Πῶρος κατεστρατοπεδεύκει πρὸς τῇ ὄχθῃ τοῦ Ὑδάσπου, ἔγνω ἀδύνατος ὢν περᾶσαι ὑπὸ πλήθους τε τῶν ἐλεφάντων καὶ ὅτι πολλὴ στρατιὰ καὶ αὕτη τεταγμένη τε καὶ ἀκριβῶς ὡπλισμένη ἐκβαίνουσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπιθήσεσθαι
2 ἔμελλεν· οἵ τε ἵπποι οὐκ ἂν ἐδόκουν αὐτῷ ἐθελῆσαι οὐδὲ ἐπιβῆναι τῆς ὄχθης τῆς πέραν, προσκειμένων σφισιν εὐθὺς τῶν ἐλεφάντων καὶ τῇ τε ὄψει ἅμα καὶ τῇ φωνῇ φοβούντων, οὐδ' ἂν ἔτι πρόσθεν μεῖναι ἐπὶ τῶν διφθερῶν κατὰ τὸν πόρον, ἀλλ' ἐκπηδᾶν γὰρ ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ ἀφορῶντες πέραν τοὺς ἐλέφαντας καὶ ἔκφρονες γιγνόμενοι. Κλέψαι οὖν ἐπενόει τὴν διάβασιν ὧδε πράττων.
3 Νύκτωρ παραγαγὼν ἄλλῃ καὶ ἄλλῃ τῆς ὄχθης τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἱππέων βοήν τε ἐποίει καὶ ἠλαλάζετο τῷ Ἐνυαλίῳ, καὶ τἆλλα ὅσα ἐπὶ

summer turning;[1] and at this season heavy rains come down into the land of India and the snows of the Caucasus, whence spring most of the rivers, are melting and greatly increase the volume of water; but in winter the rivers stop again, become smaller and clear in appearance, and fordable in places; except the Indus and Ganges, and possibly another; the Hydaspes at any rate becomes fordable.

X. For this winter season, then, Alexander openly announced that he would wait, if he were prevented from crossing at the time; but none the less he stayed there watching, if by any chance he might, without being seen, make a swift dash and effect the crossing. Where Porus himself had encamped, on the bank of the Hydaspes, he recognized that it was impossible to cross, both owing to the number of the elephants, and because there was a great army, and well ordered, and carefully armed, ready to attack his troops as they landed. Then he thought that the horses would not be willing even to set foot on the other side, as the elephants would immediately advance to attack them, and scare them both by their appearance and their trumpeting; nay, further, they would not even stay on the rafts made of skins during the transit, but would at once jump off into the water if they caught sight of the elephants from afar, and become terrified. So he determined to make a secret crossing in this way. At night he took the greater part of his cavalry in this and that direction along the bank, and made much noise and raised the Greek war-cry, and in all other ways every sort of disturbance was made which

[1] An awkward way of expressing the May solstice. Some editors suspect and emend the text.

διαβάσει συσκευαζομένων θόρυβος παντοδαπὸς ἐγίγνετο. Καὶ ὁ Πῶρός τε ἀντιπαρῄει πρὸς τὴν βοὴν ἐπάγων τοὺς ἐλέφαντας καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐς
4 ἔθος αὐτὸν τῆς ἀντιπαραγωγῆς καθίστη. Ὡς δὲ ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῦτο ἐγίγνετο καὶ βοὴ μόνον καὶ ἀλαλαγμὸς ἦν, οὐκέτι ὁ Πῶρος μετεκινεῖτο πρὸς τὰς ἐκδρομὰς τῶν ἱππέων, ἀλλὰ κενὸν[1] γὰρ γνοὺς τὸν φόβον κατὰ χώραν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου ἔμενε· σκοποὶ δὲ αὐτῷ πολλαχοῦ τῆς ὄχθης καθειστήκεσαν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἐξείργαστο αὐτῷ ἄφοβον τὸ τοῦ Πώρου εἰς τὰς νυκτερινὰς ἐπιχειρήσεις μηχανᾶταί τι τοιόνδε.

XI. Ἄκρα ἦν ἀνέχουσα τῆς ὄχθης τοῦ Ὑδάσπου, ἵνα ἐπέκαμπτεν ὁ ποταμὸς λόγου ἀξίως, αὐτή τε δασεία εἴδει παντοίῳ δένδρων καὶ κατ' αὐτὴν νῆσος ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ ὑλώδης τε καὶ ἀστιβὴς ὑπ' ἐρημίας. Ταύτην καταμαθὼν τὴν νῆσον καταντικρὺ τῆς ἄκρας, ἀμφότερα ὑλώδη τὰ χωρία καὶ οἷα κρύψαι τῆς διαβάσεως τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν, ταύτῃ ἔγνω διαβιβάζειν τὸν στρατόν.
2 Ἀπεῖχε δὲ ἥ τε ἄκρα καὶ ἡ νῆσος τοῦ μεγάλου στρατοπέδου ἐς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίους. Παρὰ πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν ὄχθην φυλακαί τε αὐτῷ καθεστηκυῖαι ἦσαν, διαλείπουσαι ὅσον ξύμμετρον ἐς τὸ ξυνορᾶν τε ἀλλήλους καὶ κατακούειν εὐπετῶς ὁπόθεν τι παραγγέλλοιτο, καὶ πανταχόθεν βοαί τε νύκτωρ ἐπὶ πολλὰς νύκτας ἐγίγνοντο καὶ πυρὰ ἐκαίετο.

3 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔγνω ἐπιχειρεῖν τῷ πόρῳ, κατὰ μὲν τὸ στρατόπεδον φανερῶς αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς διαβάσεως παρεσκευάζετο· καὶ Κράτερος ὑπο-

[1] ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνον A. Text Krüger.

was likely when an army was preparing to cross. Porus then kept moving parallel with the noise, bringing up his elephants, and Alexander led him on to make a habit of this counter-movement. But when this had gone on some time, and there was nothing but shouting and raising of the war-cry, Porus no longer kept moving about towards the cavalry dashes, but realizing that the alarm was false remained in camp where he was; though he had set scouts at various points of the bank. But Alexander, when he had calmed Porus' nervousness towards these nightly attempts, contrived the following device.

XI. From the bank of the Hydaspes projected a headland, where the river made a considerable bend; it was thick with every sort of tree, and opposite it was an island in the river, wooded and desolate, untrodden as it was by foot of man. Observing this island opposite the headland, both being well wooded, and suited to hide the attempt at crossing, Alexander determined to take his army over at this point. The headland and island were about a hundred and fifty stades distant from the great camp. Alexander had posted guards all along the bank, at distances from which it was possible to see one another and to hear easily from whatever point any order was passed on; and from all sides cries at night were raised, over several nights, and fires kept burning.

But when Alexander had determined to attempt the passage, preparations for crossing were made openly in the camp; and Craterus was left in charge

λέλειπτο ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου τήν τε αὐτοῦ ἔχων ἱππαρχίαν καὶ τοὺς ἐξ Ἀραχώτων καὶ Παραπαμισαδῶν ἱππέας καὶ τῆς φάλαγγος τῶν Μακεδόνων τήν τε Ἀλκέτου καὶ τὴν Πολυσπέρχοντος τάξιν καὶ τοὺς νομάρχας τῶν ἐπὶ τάδε Ἰνδῶν καὶ τοὺς ἅμα τούτοις τοὺς πεντα-
4 κισχιλίους. Παρηγγέλλετο δὲ Κρατέρῳ μὴ πρὶν διαβαίνειν τὸν πόρον πρὶν ἀπαλλαγῆναι Πῶρον ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει ὡς ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἢ φεύγοντα μαθεῖν, αὐτοὺς δὲ νικῶντας· ἢν δὲ μέρος μέν τι τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀναλαβὼν Πῶρος ἐπ᾽ ἐμὲ ἄγῃ, μέρος δέ τι ὑπολειφθῇ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου καὶ ἐλέφαντες, σὺ δὲ δὴ καὶ ὣς μένειν κατὰ χώραν· εἰ δὲ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ξύμπαντας ἅμα οἷ ἄγει Πῶρος ἐπ᾽ ἐμέ, τῆς δὲ ἄλλης στρατιᾶς ὑπολείποιτό τι ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου, σὺ δὲ διαβαίνειν σπουδῇ· οἱ γὰρ ἐλέφαντες μόνοι, ἔφη, ἄποροί εἰσι πρὸς τοὺς ἐκβαίνοντας ἵππους· ἡ δὲ ἄλλη στρατιὰ εὔπορος.

XII. Ταῦτα μὲν Κρατέρῳ ἐνετέλλετο. Ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τῆς νήσου τε καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου στρατοπέδου, ἵνα αὐτῷ Κράτερος ὑπολέλειπτο, Μελέαγρός τε καὶ Ἄτταλος καὶ Γοργίας ξὺν τοῖς μισθοφόροις ἱππεῦσί τε καὶ πεζοῖς ἐτετάχατο· καὶ τούτοις διαβαίνειν παρηγγέλλετο κατὰ μέρος, διελόντας τὸν στρατόν, ὁπότε ξυνεχομένους ἤδη ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς ἴδοιεν.

2 Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπιλεξάμενος τῶν τε ἑταίρων τὸ ἄγημα καὶ τὴν Ἡφαιστίωνος ἱππαρχίαν καὶ τὴν Περδίκκου τε καὶ Δημητρίου καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Βάκτρων καὶ Σογδιανῶν καὶ τοὺς Σκύθας ἱππέας καὶ Δάας τοὺς ἱπποτοξότας καὶ τῆς φάλαγγος τοὺς

of the camp, with his own cavalry regiment and the cavalry of the Arachotians and of the Parapamisadae; and of the Macedonian phalanx the brigades of Alcetas and Polysperchon, and the governors of the Indians of these districts, and those with them, the five thousand Indians.[1] Craterus was ordered not to attempt a crossing till Porus and his army had left his camp to attack Alexander's forces, or till he had learnt that Porus was in flight, and the Greeks conquerors; "but should Porus take a part of his army and lead it against me" (Alexander continued) "and another part be left behind at his camp, and any elephants, do you still stay where you are; if, however, Porus leads all his elephants against me, but some portion of the army is left behind at the camp, then do you cross with all dispatch; for it is only the elephants which are dangerous to disembarking horses; the rest of the force will not trouble them."

XII. Such were Craterus' orders; but between the island and the great camp, where Craterus had been left, Meleager and Attalus and Gorgias were posted with the mercenary cavalry and infantry; and they too had been ordered to make a crossing in sections, dividing the force, so soon as they should see the Indians already entangled in the battle.

Alexander himself selected the special squadron of the Companions, and the cavalry regiments of Hephaestion, and of Perdiccas and Demetrius, and the cavalry from Bactria and Sogdiana and the Scythian horsemen, with the Dahae, mounted archers,

[1] See Tarn, *Alexander the Great*, Vol. II., p. 144 and note 2.

τε ὑπασπιστὰς καὶ τὴν Κλείτου τε καὶ Κοίνου τάξιν καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας, ἦγεν ἀφανῶς, πολύ τι ἀπέχων τῆς ὄχθης, τοῦ μὴ καταφανὴς εἶναι ἄγων ἐπὶ τὴν νῆσον καὶ τὴν ἄκραν ἔνθεν διαβαίνειν αὐτῷ ἦν ἐγνωσμένον.
3 Καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐπληροῦντο τῆς νυκτὸς αἱ διφθέραι τῆς κάρφης, ἐκ πολλοῦ ἤδη παρενηνεγμέναι, καὶ κατερράπτοντο ἐς ἀκρίβειαν· ὕδωρ τε ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τῆς νυκτὸς λάβρον ἐπιγίνεται. Ταύτῃ καὶ μᾶλλόν τι ἡ παρασκευή τε αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ ἐπιχείρησις ἡ ἐς τὴν διάβασιν οὐ φανερὰ κατέστη τῷ κτύπῳ τῷ ἀπὸ τῶν ὅπλων καὶ τῷ θορύβῳ τῷ ἀπὸ τῶν παραγγελμάτων τῶν τε βροντῶν καὶ
4 τοῦ ὄμβρου ἀντιπαταγούντων. Καὶ τῶν πλοίων δὲ τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῷ ξυντετμημένα παρεκεκόμιστο ἐς τὸν χῶρον τοῦτον καὶ ἀφανῶς αὖθις ξυμπεπηγμένα ἐν τῇ ὕλῃ ἐκρύπτετο, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ αἱ τριακόντοροι. Ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἕω ὅ τε ἄνεμος καὶ ὁ ὄμβρος κεκοίμητο. Καὶ ἡ μὲν ἄλλη στρατιὰ αὐτῷ ἡ ἱππικὴ τῶν διφθερῶν ἐπιβᾶσα καὶ ὅσους τῶν πεζῶν τὰ πλοῖα ἐδέχετο ἐπέρα κατὰ τὴν νῆσον, ὡς μὴ πρόσθεν ὀφθεῖεν πρὸς τῶν σκοπῶν τῶν ἐκ Πώρου καθεστηκότων πρὶν παραλλάξαντας τὴν νῆσον ὀλίγον ἔτι ἀπέχειν τῆς ὄχθης.

XIII. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπιβὰς τριακοντόρου ἐπέρα καὶ ἅμα αὐτῷ Πτολεμαῖός τε καὶ Περδίκκας καὶ Λυσίμαχος οἱ σωματοφύλακες καὶ Σέλευκος τῶν ἑταίρων, ὁ βασιλεύσας ὕστερον, καὶ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν οἱ ἡμίσεες· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ὑπασπιστὰς ἄλλαι τριακόντοροι ἔφερον. Ὡς δὲ τὴν νῆσον παρήλλαξεν ἡ στρατιά, φανερῶς ἤδη ἐπεῖχον τῇ ὄχθῃ· καὶ οἱ σκοποὶ κατιδόντες αὐτῶν τὴν

and, of the phalanx, the bodyguard, and the brigades of Cleitus and Coenus, the archers and the Agrianes; he led this force secretly, keeping some distance from the bank, so that he might not be seen marching towards the island and headland, where he had determined to cross. And there, during the night, the rafts made of hides, which had already some time before been brought along, were filled with chaff, and were carefully sewn together; and there fell a very violent rain during the night. So Alexander's preparations and his attempt to make the crossing were all the more concealed; the thunder-claps and the rain counteracted the clatter of the arms and the commotion arising from the commands; and most of the boats, which had been broken into sections, had been transported to this place, and being put together again out of sight were hidden in the wood; the thirty-oar ships with the rest. But towards dawn the wind and the rain had quieted down, and the cavalry had embarked on the rafts, and all the infantry which the boats could take, crossed by the island; so that they might not be seen by the scouts which Porus had posted, before they had passed the island and were already near the bank.

XIII. Alexander then himself embarked on a thirty-oared boat and began the passage, and with him were Ptolemaeus and Perdiccas and Lysimachus, the officers of his bodyguard, and Seleucus, one of the Companions, who afterwards became king; and half of the bodyguard too. The rest of these were taken by other thirty-oar boats. And when the force passed the island, they were now in full sight, as they approached the bank; and the scouts, observing their

ὁρμὴν ὡς ἑκάστοις τάχους οἱ ἵπποι εἶχον ἤλαυνον
2 ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Πῶρον. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος
πρῶτος αὐτὸς ἐκβὰς καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων
τριακοντόρων ἀναλαβὼν ξυνέταττε τοὺς ἀεὶ
ἐκβαίνοντας τῶν ἱππέων· οἱ γὰρ ἱππεῖς πρῶτοι
ἐτετάχατο αὐτῷ ἐκβαίνειν· καὶ τούτους ἄγων
προῄει ἐν τάξει. Ἔλαθε δὲ οὐκ ἐς βέβαιον
χωρίον ἐκβὰς ἀγνοίᾳ τῶν τόπων, ἀλλὰ ἐς νῆσον
γὰρ καὶ αὐτὴν μὲν μεγάλην, ᾗ δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον
νῆσος οὖσα ἔλαθεν, οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὕδατι πρὸς τοῦ
ποταμοῦ ἀποτεμνομένην ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλης γῆς.
3 Καὶ ἅμα ηὐξήκει τὸ ὕδωρ ὁ ὄμβρος λάβρος τε
καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς νυκτὸς κατασχών, ὥστε οὐκ
ἐξεύρισκον αὐτῷ οἱ ἱππεῖς τὸν πόρον, καὶ δέος
ἦν αὖθις ἄλλου δεῆσαι αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει
ἴσου τῷ πρώτῳ πόνου. Ὡς δὲ ἐξευρέθη ποτὲ
ὁ πόρος, ἦγε κατ᾿ αὐτὸν χαλεπῶς· ἦν γὰρ τῶν
μὲν πεζῶν ὑπὲρ τοὺς μαστοὺς τὸ ὕδωρ ἵναπερ
τὸ βαθύτατον αὐτοῦ· τῶν δὲ ἵππων ὅσον τὰς
4 κεφαλὰς ὑπερίσχειν τοῦ ποταμοῦ. Ὡς δὲ καὶ
τοῦτο ἐπεράτο αὐτῷ τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν
κέρας παρήγαγε τό τε ἄγημα τῶν ἱππέων καὶ
τῶν ἄλλων ἱππαρχιῶν τοὺς κρατίστους ἐπιλεξάμενος· τοὺς δὲ ἱπποτοξότας τῆς πάσης
ἵππου προέταξε· τῶν δὲ πεζῶν πρώτους μὲν
τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς τοὺς βασιλικούς, ὧν ἡγεῖτο
Σέλευκος, ἐπέταξε τῇ ἵππῳ· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις τὸ
ἄγημα τὸ βασιλικόν· ἐχομένους δὲ τούτων τοὺς
ἄλλους ὑπασπιστάς, ὡς ἑκάστοις αἱ ἡγεμονίαι
ἐν τῷ τότε ξυνέβαινον· κατὰ δὲ τὰ ἄκρα τῆς
φάλαγγος οἱ τοξόται αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ Ἀγριᾶνες καὶ
οἱ ἀκοντισταὶ ἑκατέρωθεν ἐπέστησαν.

oncoming, with all the speed of their horses rode off to Porus. Meanwhile Alexander disembarked first himself; and then took the cavalry as they kept disembarking from the other thirty-oar boats and marshalled them in order; for he had instructed the cavalry to disembark first; and then taking these with him he advanced in fighting array. However, without being aware, he had disembarked, from want of local knowledge, not on the solid land, but on an island; a large one, it is true; and this was chiefly why he did not discover it was an island; but yet it was parted from the other side by the river with no very great stream. At the same time the rain, which was violent, and kept on all night, had swollen the river, so that the mounted men did not find the ford, and there was some apprehension that to complete the crossing he must repeat all the former labour. But when at last the ford was found, Alexander led on, though with difficulty, across it. For the water, at its deepest, was over the breasts of the foot-soldiers, so deep that the horses only kept their heads above the river. But when this part also of the river was successfully passed, he led round to his right wing the picked squadron of the cavalry, selecting the best of the other cavalry regiments; the mounted archers he set in front of the whole line of cavalry; then next to the cavalry he marshalled, of the infantry, the royal guards, under Seleucus; then next to them the royal regiment; and in touch with these the rest of the foot-guards, according as each had precedence for that day; on the wings of the phalanx on either side he stationed the archers and the Agrianes and the javelin-throwers.

XIV. Οὕτως ἐκτάξας τὸν μὲν πεζὸν στρατὸν ἐν κόσμῳ βάδην ἕπεσθαι ἐκέλευσεν, οὐ πολὺ ἀποδέοντας τῶν ἑξακισχιλίων· αὐτὸς δέ, ὅτι κρατεῖν ἐδόκει τῇ ἵππῳ, τοὺς ἱππέας μόνους ἀναλαβὼν σπουδῇ ἡγεῖτο, ὄντας ἐς πεντακισχιλίους. Ταύρωνι δὲ τῷ τοξάρχῃ προσέταξε τοὺς τοξότας ἐπάγειν τῇ ἵππῳ καὶ αὐτοὺς σπουδῇ.
2 Γνώμην δὲ πεποίητο, ὡς εἰ μὲν προσμίξειαν αὐτῷ οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Πῶρον ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει ἁπάσῃ, ἢ κρατήσειν αὐτῶν οὐ χαλεπῶς τῇ ἵππῳ προσβαλὼν ἢ ἀπομαχεῖσθαί γε ἔστε τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἐπιγενέσθαι· εἰ δὲ πρὸς τὴν τόλμαν τῆς διαβάσεως ἄτοπον γενομένην οἱ Ἰνδοὶ ἐκπλαγέντες φεύγοιεν, οὐ πόρρωθεν ἕξεσθαι αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν φυγήν, ὡς πλείονα ἐν τῇ ἀποχωρήσει τὸν φόνον γενόμενον ὀλίγον ἔτι ὑπολείπεσθαι αὐτῷ τὸ ἔργον.
3 Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ τὸν Πώρου παῖδα λέγει φθάσαι ἀφικόμενον σὺν ἅρμασιν ὡς ἑξήκοντα πρὶν τὸ ὕστερον ἐκ τῆς νήσου τῆς μικρᾶς[1] περᾶσαι Ἀλέξανδρον· καὶ τοῦτον δυνηθῆναι ἂν εἶρξαι Ἀλέξανδρον τῆς διαβάσεως, χαλεπῶς καὶ μηδενὸς εἴργοντος περαιωθέντα, εἴπερ οὖν καταπηδήσαντες οἱ Ἰνδοὶ ἐκ τῶν ἁρμάτων προσέκειντο τοῖς πρώτοις τῶν ἐκβαινόντων· ἀλλὰ παραλλάξαι γὰρ ξὺν τοῖς ἅρμασι καὶ ἀκίνδυνον ποιῆσαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὴν διάβασιν· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους ἀφεῖναι Ἀλέξανδρον τοὺς ἱπποτοξότας, καὶ τραπῆναι αὐτοὺς οὐ χαλεπῶς, πληγὰς λαμβά-

[1] The island above (13. 2) is called "large"; but Aristobulus seems to have taken a different view. See Plutarch, *Alex.* 60. *μακρᾶς*, Schnieder.

XIV. With his army therefore thus marshalled, Alexander ordered the infantry forces to follow at a foot pace and in marching formation; their number being nearly six thousand. Then he himself, as he seemed to be superior in the cavalry, took the cavalry only and advanced at all speed; the cavalry numbering about five thousand. He directed, however, Tauron the commander of the archers to lead them also on with the cavalry, and also at full speed. And he had determined that should Porus and his detachment attack him with their full force, either he would easily overcome them with his cavalry, by charging them, or anyway he would fight on the defensive till his infantry should get into action. If, however, the Indians in face of the extraordinary boldness of the crossing should take to flight, he would be close up to them during the flight; and the greater the slaughter during the withdrawal the less trouble there would be for him in the future.

Aristobulus, however, says that Porus' son arrived with sixty chariots before Alexander took across from the small island[1] the latter part of his troops; and that he could, indeed, have prevented Alexander's crossing, since he got over with much difficulty even when no one opposed him, if only the Indians had leapt from their chariots and attacked the foremost of those coming to land. In point of fact, however, he drove past with his chariots, and thus allowed Alexander to cross without risk; and Alexander launched against this force his mounted archers, and with no great difficulty turned them to flight,

[1] On the size of the island, see above, V. 13. 2. Ptolemaeus and Aristobulus, Arrian's authorities, seem to have differed.

4 νοντας. Οἱ δὲ καὶ μάχην λέγουσιν ἐν τῇ ἐκβάσει
γενέσθαι τῶν Ἰνδῶν τῶν ξὺν τῷ παιδὶ τῷ Πώρου
ἀφιγμένων πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρόν τε καὶ τοὺς ξὺν
αὐτῷ ἱππέας. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἀφικέσθαι ξὺν
μείζονι δυνάμει τὸν Πώρου παῖδα, καὶ αὐτόν τε
Ἀλέξανδρον τρωθῆναι πρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν ἵππον
αὐτοῦ ἀποθανεῖν τὸν Βουκεφάλαν, φίλτατον
Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὄντα τὸν ἵππον, καὶ τοῦτον τρωθέντα
5 ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ Πώρου. Ἀλλὰ Πτολεμαῖος
ὁ Λάγου, ὅτῳ καὶ ἐγὼ ξυμφέρομαι, ἄλλως λέγει.
Ἐκπεμφθῆναι μὲν γὰρ τὸν παῖδα ὑπὸ τοῦ Πώρου
λέγει καὶ οὗτος, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἑξήκοντα μόνα ἅρματα
ἄγοντα. Οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰκὸς Πῶρον ἀκούσαντα ἐκ
τῶν σκοπῶν ὅτι δὴ ἢ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος δια-
βέβηκε τοῦ Ὑδάσπου τὸν πόρον ἢ μέρος γέ τι
τῆς στρατιᾶς, ξὺν ἑξήκοντα ἅρμασι μόνοις ἐκ-
6 πέμψαι τὸν αὐτοῦ παῖδα· ἃ δὴ ὡς μὲν ἐπὶ
κατασκοπὴν ἐκπεμπόμενα πολλά τε καὶ οὐκ
εὔζωνα ἐς τὴν ἀποχώρησιν ἦν, ὡς δὲ εἰς τὸ
εἶρξαί τε τοὺς οὔπω πεπερακότας τῶν πολεμίων
καὶ τοῖς ἤδη ἐκβεβηκόσιν ἐπιθέσθαι, οὐδαμῇ
ἀξιόμαχα. Ἀλλὰ δισχιλίους γὰρ λέγει ἱππέας
ἄγοντα ἀφικέσθαι τὸν Πώρου παῖδα, ἅρματα δὲ
ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι· φθάσαι δὲ περάσαντα Ἀλέξ-
ανδρον καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῆς νήσου τὸν τελευταῖον
πόρον.

XV. Καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐκπέμψαι
Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ οὗτος λέγει τοὺς ἱπποτοξότας,
αὐτὸν δὲ ἄγειν τοὺς ἱππέας· προσάγειν γὰρ
οἰηθῆναι Πῶρον ξὺν τῇ πάσῃ δυνάμει· τὴν δὲ
ἵππον ταύτην προτεταγμένην αὐτῷ προ-
2 πορεύεσθαι πρὸ τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοῦ. Ὡς δὲ

many being wounded. Others say that there was actually a battle at the landing, of Porus' son and the force which came with him, against Alexander and his cavalry. For Porus' son actually did arrive (they say) with a superior force, and Alexander was wounded by him and his horse Bucephalas killed; his favourite horse, and wounded, moreover, by Porus' son. But Ptolemaeus son of Lagus, with whom I agree, gives a different account. For he too states that Porus sent his son, but not with only sixty chariots. For it is not likely that Porus, learning from his scouts that either Alexander had himself forded the Hydaspes or a part of his army, would have sent out his own son with merely sixty chariots. If these were sent merely for reconnaissance, they were too many; they were not handy for a withdrawal; if they were sent to keep an enemy, which had not yet crossed, from doing so, and to fight with such as had crossed, they were by no means equal to the task. He relates, on the other hand, that Porus' son had two thousand cavalry with him, when he reached the place, and a hundred and twenty chariots; but that Alexander was too quick and had by then passed even the last crossing from the island.

XV. It is Ptolemaeus also who narrates that Alexander at first sent against Porus' son and his force the mounted archers; but that he himself led on the cavalry, thinking that Porus was coming up with all his army; and that this cavalry, marshalled by him in the van, preceded the rest of the Indian

κατέμαθεν ἀτρεκῶς τὸ πλῆθος τὸ τῶν Ἰνδῶν, ἐνταῦθα δὴ ὀξέως ἐπιπεσεῖν αὐτοῖς ξὺν τῇ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἵππῳ· τοὺς δὲ ἐγκλῖναι, ὡς Ἀλέξανδρόν τε αὐτὸν κατεῖδον καὶ τὸ στῖφος ἀμφ' αὐτὸν τῶν ἱππέων, οὐκ ἐπὶ μετώπου, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἴλας ἐμβεβληκός. Καὶ τούτων ἱππέας μὲν πεσεῖν ἐς τετρακοσίους, πεσεῖν δὲ καὶ τοῦ Πώρου τὸν παῖδα· τὰ δὲ ἅρματα αὐτοῖς ἵπποις ἁλῶναι ἔν τε τῇ ἀποχωρήσει βαρέα γενόμενα καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἔργῳ ὑπὸ πηλοῦ ἀχρεῖα.

3 Πῶρος δέ, ὡς αὐτῷ ὅσοι ἱππεῖς ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς διεσώζοντο, Ἀλέξανδρόν τε αὐτὸν πεπερακότα ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐς τὸ καρτερώτατον καὶ τὸν παῖδα ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τετελευτηκότα ἤγγειλαν, ἐγίγνετο μὲν καὶ ὣς ἀμφίβολος τῇ γνώμῃ, ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ καταντικρὺ τοῦ μεγάλου στρατοπέδου οἱ ξὺν Κρατέρῳ ὑπολελειμμένοι ἐπιχει-
4 ροῦντες τῇ διαβάσει ἐφαίνοντο· εἵλετο δ' οὖν ἐπ' αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐλάσας ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ πάσῃ πρὸς τὸ καρτερώτατόν τε τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα διαγωνίσασθαι. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὣς ὀλίγους τῶν ἐλεφάντων σὺν οὐ πολλῇ στρατιᾷ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἀπέλιπεν, ὡς φοβεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς ὄχθης τοὺς ξὺν Κρατέρῳ ἱππέας. Αὐτὸς δὲ τήν τε ἵππον ἀναλαβὼν πᾶσαν, ἐς τετρακισχιλίους ἱππέας, καὶ τὰ ἅρματα πάντα, τριακόσια ὄντα, καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων διακοσίους καὶ τῶν πεζῶν ὅτιπερ ὄφελος, ἐς τρισμυρίους, ἤλαυνεν ὡς ἐπ' Ἀλέξανδρον.
5 Ὡς δ' ἐνέτυχε χωρίῳ ἵνα οὐ πηλὸς αὐτῷ ἐφαίνετο, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ ψάμμου γὰρ ξύμπαν ἦν ἄπεδον καὶ στερεὸν ἐς τὰς ἐφόδους τε καὶ ἀναστροφὰς τῶν

troops. But on learning accurately the number of the Indians from his scouts, he fell upon them sharply with the cavalry he had with him; they gave way when they perceived Alexander himself and the serried mass of cavalry round him, attacking not on a front but squadron by squadron. Of the Indians there fell as many as four hundred horsemen, and Porus' son also fell; and the chariots, with their teams, were captured in the retreat, driving heavily and useless in the action itself because of the mud.

Porus, however, so soon as the cavalry which escaped in the flight reported to him that Alexander himself had crossed with his army in full force, and that his son had fallen in the fight, was in two minds from this additional reason, that those in the camp opposite, who had been left behind with Craterus, were now seen attempting the passage. He chose, in any case, to advance towards Alexander himself with all his force, and fight to a finish against the strongest part of the Macedonians and their King himself. Yet none the less he left behind a few of the elephants and a small force by his camp, to scare away the cavalry under Craterus from the bank. Then taking all his cavalry, about four thousand horse, and all the chariots, some three hundred, and two hundred of the elephants, and the best of the infantry, about thirty thousand, he advanced against Alexander. And reaching a place which was not muddy, but being sandy was all level and solid for charges and manœuvres of cavalry, he drew up his

ἵππων, ἐνταῦθα ἔτασσε τὴν στρατιάν, πρώτους μὲν τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἐπὶ μετώπου, διέχοντα ἐλέφαντα ἐλέφαντος οὐ μεῖον πλέθρου, ὡς πρὸ πάσης τε τῆς φάλαγγος τῶν πεζῶν παραταθῆναι αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἐπὶ μετώπου καὶ φόβον πάντῃ παρέχειν τοῖς ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἱππεῦσιν.
6 Ἄλλως τε οὐδὲ ἠξίου ἐς τὰ διαλείποντα τῶν ἐλεφάντων τολμῆσαι ἄν τινα ὤσασθαι τῶν πολεμίων, οὔτε ξὺν ἵπποις διὰ τὸν φόβον τῶν ἵππων, πεζούς τε ἔτι μεῖον· κατὰ στόμα τε γὰρ ἂν πρὸς τῶν ὁπλιτῶν προσβαλλόντων εἴργεσθαι καὶ καταπατηθήσεσθαι ἐπιστρεψάντων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς
7 τῶν ἐλεφάντων. Ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ οἱ πεζοὶ αὐτῷ ἐτετάχατο, οὐκ ἴσον τὸ μέτωπον τοῖς θηρίοις ἐπέχοντες, ἀλλ' ἐν δευτέρῳ μετώπῳ μετὰ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας, ὅσον ἐς τὰ διαλείποντα ἐπ' ὀλίγον ἐμβεβλῆσθαι τοὺς λόχους. Ἦσαν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ κατὰ τὰ κέρατα ἔτι ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας πεζοὶ ἐφεστηκότες· ἑκατέρωθεν δὲ τῶν πεζῶν ἡ ἵππος αὐτῷ ἐτέτακτο καὶ πρὸ ταύτης τὰ ἅρματα ἑκατέρωθεν.

XVI. Αὕτη μὲν ἡ Πώρου τάξις ἦν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἤδη καθεώρα τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς ἐκτασσομένους, ἐπέστησε τοὺς ἱππέας τοῦ πρόσω, ὡς ἀναλαμβάνειν τῶν πεζῶν τοὺς ἀεὶ προσάγοντας. Ὡς δὲ καὶ ἡ φάλαγξ αὐτῷ δρόμῳ συνάψασα ὁμοῦ ἤδη ἦν, ὁ δὲ οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐκτάξας ἐπῆγεν, ὡς μὴ καματηροὺς τε καὶ πνευστιῶντας ἀκμῆσι παραδοῦναι τοῖς βαρβάροις, ἀλλὰ ἐς κύκλους παριππεύων ἀνέπαυε τοὺς πεζοὺς ἔστε κατα-
2 στῆναι αὐτοῖς τὸν θυμόν. Ὡς δὲ τὴν τάξιν κατεῖδε τῶν Ἰνδῶν, κατὰ μέσον μέν, ἵνα οἱ

army in this way. First the elephants on the front, distant each from each about a hundred feet, so that they should form a line in front of the whole infantry line, and at all points terrify the cavalry of Alexander. For in any case he did not expect that any of the enemy would dare to force a way through the gaps between the elephants, certainly not on horseback, since the horses would take fright, and still less foot-soldiers, who would be kept back by the heavy armed troops in front and then would be trampled down by the elephants turning upon them. Behind these elephants were stationed the foot-soldiers, not on the same front as the elephants, but holding the second line after them, so that the columns were fitted, more or less, into the intervals left by the animals. Porus had besides stationed on the wings foot-soldiers, stretching even beyond the line of elephants. Then on each flank of the infantry the cavalry was posted, and in front of the cavalry the chariots, on both sides.

XVI. This then was the disposition of Porus. But Alexander, seeing the Indians already getting into battle array, halted his cavalry from any further advance, so as to await the infantry as they came up behind. And when the phalanx, coming on at a rapid pace, had joined the advance forces, Alexander did not at once put them in battle order and lead them forward, so as not to confront them while tired and out of breath with the enemy who were fresh, but moving his cavalry round rested his infantry till they had recovered their fighting spirit. On sighting the Indian disposition, however, he decided not to advance by the centre, where the advance line

ἐλέφαντες προεβέβληντο καὶ πυκνὴ ἡ φάλαγξ κατὰ τὰ διαλείποντα αὐτῶν ἐπετέτακτο, οὐκ ἔγνω προάγειν, αὐτὰ ἐκεῖνα ὀκνήσας ἅπερ ὁ Πῶρος τῷ λογισμῷ ξυνθεὶς ταύτῃ ἔταξεν· ἀλλὰ αὐτὸς μέν, ἅτε ἱπποκρατῶν, τὴν πολλὴν τῆς ἵππου ἀναλαβὼν ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας τῶν πολεμίων παρήλαυνεν, ὡς ταύτῃ ἐπιθησόμενος.

3 Κοῖνον δὲ πέμπει ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιόν, τὴν Δημητρίου καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἔχοντα ἱππαρχίαν, κελεύσας, ἐπειδὰν τὸ κατὰ σφᾶς στῖφος τῶν ἱππέων ἰδόντες οἱ βάρβαροι ἀντιπαριππεύωσιν, αὐτὸν κατόπιν ἔχεσθαι αὐτῶν· τῶν πεζῶν δὲ τὴν φάλαγγα Σελεύκῳ καὶ Ἀντιγένει καὶ Ταύρωνι προσέταξεν ἄγειν· μὴ πρόσθεν δὲ ἅπτεσθαι τοῦ ἔργου πρὶν ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου τῆς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν τεταραγμένην τήν τε φάλαγγα τῶν πεζῶν καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας κατίδωσιν.

4 Ἤδη τε ἐντὸς βέλους ἐγίγνετο καὶ ἐφῆκεν ἐπὶ τὸ κέρας τὸ εὐώνυμον τῶν Ἰνδῶν τοὺς ἱπποτοξότας, ὄντας ἐς χιλίους, ὡς ταράξαι τοὺς ταύτῃ ἐφεστηκότας τῶν πολεμίων τῇ πυκνότητί τε τῶν τοξευμάτων καὶ τῶν ἵππων τῇ ἐπελάσει· καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς ἑταίρους ἔχων τοὺς ἱππέας παρήλαυνεν ὀξέως ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον τῶν βαρβάρων, κατὰ κέρας ἔτι τεταραγμένοις ἐμβαλεῖν σπουδὴν ποιούμενος, πρὶν ἐπὶ φάλαγγος ἐκταθῆναι αὐτοῖς τὴν ἵππον.

XVII. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἵ τε Ἰνδοὶ τοὺς ἱππέας πάντοθεν ξυναλίσαντες παρίππευον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἀντιπαρεξάγοντες τῇ ἐλάσει, καὶ οἱ περὶ Κοῖνον, ὡς παρήγγελτο, κατόπιν αὐτοῖς ἐπεφαίνοντο. Ταῦτα ξυνιδόντες οἱ Ἰνδοὶ ἀμφίστομον ἠναγκάσ-

of elephants had been thrown forward, and where the phalanx, in close formation, was posted in the intervals between them, hesitating just for those very reasons which Porus had foreseen when making this disposition; but since his own superiority lay in cavalry, he took with him the majority of his cavalry and rode up to the enemy's left wing, intending to make his attack there. Coenus he sent to the right, with the regiments of Demetrius and his own; he commanded him that so soon as the Indians should perceive the solid body of cavalry beside Alexander and advance their cavalry to meet it, he should keep behind them. Seleucus and Antigenes and Tauron Alexander commanded to lead the infantry phalanx; but they were not to take part in the action till they observed the enemy's main body of infantry and their cavalry thrown into confusion by his own cavalry force.

By now they were within range; and Alexander launched his mounted archers—about a thousand strong—at the Indians' left wing, to throw into confusion those of the enemy who were stationed there both by the severity of the volleys of arrows and the charge of the cavalry. Then he himself with the Companions' cavalry rode rapidly against the enemy left, hastening to charge them, in their confusion, while they were still in line formation, before their cavalry could change into massed formation.

XVII. Meantime the Indians, concentrating all their cavalry from every quarter, kept riding parallel to Alexander, on the flank of their own line, to oppose his charge; and Coenus and his troops, according to orders, began to appear in their rear. Seeing this the Indians were compelled to throw their cavalry

θησαν ποιῆσαι τὴν τάξιν τῆς ἵππου, τὴν μὲν ὡς ἐπ' Ἀλέξανδρον τὴν πολλήν τε καὶ κρατίστην· οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ Κοῖνόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἅμα τούτῳ
2 ἐπέστρεφον. Τοῦτό τε οὖν εὐθὺς ἐτάραξε τὰς τάξεις τε καὶ τὰς γνώμας τῶν Ἰνδῶν, καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἰδὼν τὸν καιρὸν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἐπὶ θάτερα ἐπιστροφῇ τῆς ἵππου ἐπιτίθεται τοῖς καθ' αὑτόν, ὥστε οὐδὲ τὴν ἐμβολὴν ἐδέξαντο τῶν ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἱππέων οἱ Ἰνδοί, ἀλλὰ κατηράχθησαν ὥσπερ εἰς τεῖχός τι φίλιον τοὺς
3 ἐλέφαντας. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ ἐπιστάται τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἀντεπῆγον τῇ ἵππῳ τὰ θηρία, καὶ ἡ φάλαγξ αὐτὴ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀντεπῄει πρὸς τοὺς ἐλέφαντας, ἔς τε τοὺς ἐπιβάτας αὐτῶν ἀκοντίζοντες καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ θηρία περισταδὸν πάντοθεν βάλλοντες. Καὶ ἦν τὸ ἔργον οὐδενὶ τῶν πρόσθεν ἀγώνων ἐοικός· τά τε γὰρ θηρία ἐπεκθέοντα ἐς τὰς τάξεις τῶν πεζῶν, ὅπῃ ἐπιστρέψειεν, ἐκεράϊζε καίπερ πυκνὴν οὖσαν τὴν τῶν Μακεδόνων φάλαγγα, καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς οἱ τῶν Ἰνδῶν, τοῖς πεζοῖς ἰδόντες ξυνεστηκὸς τὸ ἔργον, ἐπιστρέψαντες αὖθις καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπήλαυνον τῇ
4 ἵππῳ. Ὡς δὲ πάλιν ἐκράτησαν αὐτῶν οἱ ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον, τῇ τε ῥώμῃ καὶ τῇ ἐμπειρίᾳ πολὺ προέχοντες, ὡς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας αὖθις κατειλήθησαν. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ πᾶσα ἡ ἵππος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐς μίαν ἴλην ἤδη ξυνηγμένη, οὐκ ἐκ παραγγέλματος, ἀλλὰ ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι αὐτῷ ἐς τήνδε τὴν τάξιν καταστᾶσα, ὅποι προσπέσοι τῶν Ἰνδῶν
5 ταῖς τάξεσι, ξὺν πολλῷ φόνῳ ἀπελύοντο. Καὶ ἐς στενὸν ἤδη κατειλημένων τῶν θηρίων οὐ μείω πρὸς αὐτῶν οἱ φίλοι ἤπερ οἱ πολέμιοι ἐβλάπ-

into a double formation, one division, the more numerous and strongest, facing Alexander, the other wheeled round to meet Coenus and his force. This of course at once upset both the formations and the intentions of the Indians, and Alexander, perceiving the opportunity, precisely during this about-turn of the cavalry attacked the troops on his front, so that the Indians did not even wait to receive the charge of Alexander's cavalry, but fell hurriedly back upon their elephants, as if to some friendly sheltering wall. Meanwhile the drivers of the elephants brought up their animals against Alexander's cavalry, and the Macedonian phalanx for its part boldly advanced to meet the elephants, hurling javelins at their drivers, and, forming a ring round the animals, volleyed upon them from all sides. And the action was now without parallel in any previous battle; for the elephants, charging out into the line of infantry, whichever way they turned, began to devastate it, dense though the Macedonian phalanx was; and the Indian cavalry, seeing the action had settled down to an infantry battle, wheeled off again and themselves charged the Macedonian cavalry. But when a second time Alexander's forces had the mastery over them, much superior, as they were, both in strength and experience, they fell back again on the elephants. Meanwhile all Alexander's cavalry having become concentrated into one body—not by order, but forced into this concentration in the course of the battle itself—wherever it fell upon the Indian ranks, they were broken up with much slaughter. And by this time the elephants were crowded into a narrow space, and their own side were as much

τουτο, ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστροφαῖς τε καὶ τοῖς ὠθισμοῖς καταπατούμενοι. Τῶν τε οὖν ἱππέων, οἷα δὴ ἐν στενῷ περὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας εἰλουμένων, πολὺς φόνος ἐγίγνετο, καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν ἐλεφάντων οἱ πολλοὶ κατηκοντισμένοι ἦσαν, καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ ἐλέφαντες τὰ μὲν τιτρωσκόμενοι, τὰ δὲ ὑπό τε τῶν πόνων καὶ ἐρημίας ἡγεμόνων οὐκέτι διακε-
6 κριμένοι ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἦσαν· ἀλλ' οἷα δὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ ἔκφρονες φιλίοις τε ὁμοῦ καὶ πολεμίοις προσφερόμενοι πάντα τρόπον ἐξώθουν τε καὶ κατεπάτουν καὶ κατέκαινον. Ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν Μακεδόνες, ἅτε ἐν εὐρυχωρίᾳ τε καὶ κατὰ γνώμην τὴν σφῶν προσφερόμενοι τοῖς θηρίοις ὅπῃ μὲν ἐπιφέροιντο εἶκον, ἀποστραφέντων δὲ εἴχοντο ἐσακοντίζοντες· οἱ δὲ Ἰνδοὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀναστρεφόμενοι τὰ
7 πλείω ἤδη πρὸς ἐκείνων ἐβλάπτοντο. Ὡς δὲ καματηρά τε ἦν τὰ θηρία καὶ οὐκέτι αὐτοῖς ἐρρωμέναι αἱ ἐκδρομαὶ ἐγίγνοντο, ἀλλὰ συριγμῷ μόνον διαχρώμενα ὥσπερ αἱ πρύμναν κρουόμεναι νῆες ἐπὶ πόδα ὑπεχώρουν, αὐτὸς μὲν Ἀλέξανδρος περιβάλλει ἐν κύκλῳ τὴν ἵππον τῇ πάσῃ τάξει, τοὺς πεζοὺς δὲ ξυνασπίσαντας ὡς ἐς πυκνοτάτην ξύγκλεισιν ἐπάγειν τὴν φάλαγγα ἐσήμηνε. Καὶ οὕτως οἱ μὲν ἱππεῖς τῶν Ἰνδῶν πλὴν ὀλίγων κατεκόπησαν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ· ἐκόπτοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ πανταχόθεν ἤδη προσκειμένων σφίσι τῶν Μακεδόνων. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἵνα διέσχεν ἡ ἵππος ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐς φυγὴν πάντες ἐπεστράφησαν.

XVIII. Καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ Κρατερός τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὅσοι τῆς στρατιᾶς τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπὶ τῇ ὄχθῃ τοῦ Ὑδάσπου ὑπολελειμμένοι ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν, ὡς νικῶντα λαμπρῶς κατεῖδον Ἀλέξανδρον,

damaged by them as the enemy, trodden down in their manœuvrings and their chargings. The Indian cavalry, therefore, which was cramped round the elephants in a narrow space, suffered much loss; and the most part of the drivers of the elephants had been shot down, and of the elephants, some had been wounded, and others, from weariness and loss of drivers, no longer kept apart in the mellay, but as if maddened by the disaster they kept colliding with friends and foes alike and in all sorts of ways kept pushing, trampling, and destroying. The Macedonians, however, having good room, and able to attack the animals according to their own discretion, gave way wherever they charged, but followed close as they withdrew, and kept shooting at them with javelins. The Indians, on the other hand, were retreating among the elephants and already were receiving the greater part of their damage from them. But when the elephants wearied and their charges were no longer vigorous, but, merely trumpeting, began to retreat gradually like ships backing, Alexander himself threw his cavalry in a circle around their whole division, and then gave signal for the infantry, locking shields and concentrating into the most compact mass possible, to move up in full phalanx. So it was that the Indian cavalry, save only a few, were all cut down in the action; but their infantry also was being cut down on all sides, as the Macedonians by this time were pressing hard upon them. And now, where there was a gap in Alexander's cavalry, they all turned and fled.

XVIII. At the same time Craterus and the other officers of the army who had been left behind on the bank of the Hydaspes, seeing Alexander carrying off

ἑπέρων καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸν ποταμόν. Καὶ οὗτοι οὐ μείονα τὸν φόνον ἐν τῇ ἀποχωρήσει τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἐποίησαν, ἀκμῆτες ἀντὶ κεκμηκότων τῶν ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπιγενόμενοι τῇ διώξει.

2 Ἀπέθανον δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν πεζοὶ μὲν ὀλίγον ἀποδέοντες τῶν δισμυρίων, ἱππεῖς δὲ ἐς τρισχιλίους, τὰ δὲ ἅρματα ξύμπαντα κατεκόπη· καὶ Πώρου δύο παῖδες ἀπέθανον καὶ Σπιτάκης ὁ νομάρχης τῶν ταύτῃ Ἰνδῶν καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων καὶ ἁρμάτων οἱ ἡγεμόνες καὶ οἱ ἵππαρχαι καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς τῆς Πώρου ξύμπαντες. . . . ἐλήφθησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐλέφαντες, ὅσοι γε αὐτῶν μὴ

3 αὐτοῦ ἀπέθανον. Τῶν δὲ ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον πεζοὶ μὲν ἀπὸ ἑξακισχιλίων τῶν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ προσβολῇ γενομένων ἐς ὀγδοήκοντα μάλιστα ἀπέθανον· ἱππεῖς δὲ τῶν μὲν ἱπποτοξοτῶν, οἳ δὴ καὶ πρῶτοι τοῦ ἔργου ἥψαντο, δέκα· τῆς δὲ ἑταιρικῆς ἵππου ἀμφὶ τοὺς εἴκοσι· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἱππέων ὡς διακόσιοι.

4 Πῶρος δὲ μεγάλα ἔργα ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἀποδειξάμενος μὴ ὅτι στρατηγοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατιώτου γενναίου, ὡς τῶν τε ἱππέων τὸν φόνον κατεῖδε καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων τοὺς μὲν αὐτοῦ πεπτωκότας, τοὺς δὲ ἐρήμους τῶν ἡγεμόνων λυπροὺς πεπλανημένους, τῶν δὲ πεζῶν αὐτῷ οἱ πλείους ἀπολώλεσαν, οὐχ ἧπερ Δαρεῖος ὁ μέγας βασιλεὺς ἐξάρχων τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν τῆς φυγῆς

5 ἀπεχώρει, ἀλλὰ ἔστε γὰρ ὑπέμενέ τι τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἐν μάχῃ ξυνεστηκός, ἐς τοσόνδε ἀγωνισάμενος, τετρωμένος δὲ τὸν δεξιὸν ὦμον, ὃν δὴ γυμνὸν μόνον ἔχων ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἀνεστρέφετο (ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ ἄλλου σώματος ἤρκει αὐτῷ τὰ βέλη ὁ θώραξ,

a conspicuous victory, themselves began to cross the river; and these wrought equal slaughter in the Indian retreat, coming into the pursuit fresh, in place of Alexander's wearied troops.

Of the Indians there perished nearly twenty thousand foot, and horsemen about three thousand; all the chariots were destroyed; two sons of Porus perished, and Spitaces, the governor of the Indians of this district, with the commanders of the elephants and the chariots, and all the cavalry commanders and other commanding officers of Porus' army . . . and all the surviving elephants were captured. But of Alexander's army, foot-soldiers of the number of about eighty perished, out of a force which had been six thousand strong in the first attack; as for the cavalry, ten of the mounted archers, who were the first to begin the action; and of the Companions' cavalry about twenty, with two hundred of the rest of the cavalry.

Porus had acquitted himself manfully in the course of the engagement, not only as a commander-in-chief, but also as a brave soldier; but when he saw the slaughter of his cavalry, and of the elephants, some fallen on the field, and some wandering in distress, having lost their riders, and when most of his infantry had perished, he did not copy the example of the great king Dareius, and set his own men an example of flight, but so long as any part of the Indian troops held their ground in the fight, so long he battled on bravely, but when wounded in the right shoulder—the only unprotected part of his body as he moved about in the battle—for his corslet guarded the rest of his body from the missiles, being

περιττὸς ὢν κατά τε τὴν ἰσχὺν καὶ τὴν ἁρμονίαν, ὡς ὕστερον καταμαθεῖν θεωμένοις ἦν), τότε δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπεχώρει ἐπιστρέψας τὸν ἐλέφαντα.
6 Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος μέγαν τε αὐτὸν καὶ γενναῖον ἄνδρα ἰδὼν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ σῶσαι ἐπεθύμησε. Πέμπει δὴ παρ' αὐτὸν πρῶτα μὲν Ταξίλην τὸν Ἰνδόν· καὶ Ταξίλης προσιππεύσας ἐφ' ὅσον οἱ ἀσφαλὲς ἐφαίνετο τῷ ἐλέφαντι ὃς ἔφερε τὸν Πῶρον ἐπιστῆσαί τε ἠξίου τὸ θηρίον, οὐ γὰρ εἶναί οἱ ἔτι φεύγειν, καὶ ἀκοῦσαι τῶν παρ'
7 Ἀλεξάνδρου λόγων. Ὁ δὲ ἰδὼν ἄνδρα ἐχθρὸν ἐκ παλαιοῦ τὸν Ταξίλην ἐπιστρέψας ἀνήγετο ὡς ἀκοντίσων· καὶ ἂν καὶ κατέκανεν τυχόν, εἰ μὴ ὑποφθάσας ἐκεῖνος ἀπήλασεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Πώρου πρόσω τὸν ἵππον. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῷδε τῷ Πώρῳ χαλεπὸς ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ἄλλους τε ἐν μέρει ἔπεμπε καὶ δὴ καὶ Μερόην ἄνδρα Ἰνδόν, ὅτι φίλον εἶναι ἐκ παλαιοῦ τῷ Πώρῳ τὸν
8 Μερόην ἔμαθε. Πῶρος δὲ ὡς τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Μερόου ἤκουσε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ δίψους ἅμα ἐκρατεῖτο, ἐπέστησέ τε τὸν ἐλέφαντα καὶ κατέβη ἀπ' αὐτοῦ· ὡς δὲ ἔπιέ τε καὶ ἀνέψυξεν, ἄγειν αὐτὸν σπουδῇ ἐκέλευσε παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον.

XIX. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἤγετο· Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς προσάγοντα ἐπύθετο, προσιππεύσας πρὸ τῆς τάξεως ξὺν ὀλίγοις τῶν ἑταίρων ἀπαντᾷ τῷ Πώρῳ· καὶ ἐπιστήσας τὸν ἵππον τό τε μέγεθος ἐθαύμαζεν, ὑπὲρ πέντε πήχεις μάλιστα ξυμβαῖνον, καὶ τὸ κάλλος τοῦ Πώρου καὶ ὅτι οὐ δεδουλωμένος τῇ γνώμῃ ἐφαίνετο, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἂν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ προσέλθοι ὑπὲρ βασιλείας τῆς αὐτοῦ πρὸς βασιλέα ἄλλον καλῶς

unusually strong and unusually well fitted, as those who saw afterwards could observe—on receiving this wound he wheeled his elephant and retreated. Alexander having seen him play a great and gallant part in the battle desired to save him. He sent therefore to him first Taxiles the Indian; and Taxiles, riding up as near as he thought safe to the elephant on which Porus was riding, requested him to halt his animal, since further flight was unavailing, and to hear what Alexander's message was; but Porus seeing in Taxiles an old enemy turned his elephant and rode up to pierce him with a javelin; and indeed he might perchance have slain him, had not Taxiles, just in time, wheeled his horse further away from Porus. Alexander, however, did not even on this show anger against Porus, but sent others, in relays, and finally an Indian, Meroes, having learnt that this Meroes had long been a friend of Porus. But Porus, hearing Meroes' message, and being also much distressed by thirst, halted his elephant and dismounted; and after drinking, and recovering his strength, bade Meroes conduct him at once to Alexander.

XIX. Porus was then conducted to Alexander, who learning of his approach rode and met him in advance of the line with a few of the Companions; then halting his horse, he admired the great size of Porus, who was over five cubits in height, and his handsomeness, and the appearance he gave of a spirit not yet tamed, but of one brave man meeting another brave man after an honourable struggle against

2 ἠγωνισμένος. Ἔνθα δὴ Ἀλέξανδρος πρῶτος προσειπὼν αὐτὸν λέγειν ἐκέλευσεν ὅ τι οἱ γενέσθαι ἐθέλοι. Πῶρον δὲ ἀποκρίνασθαι λόγος, ὅτι Βασιλικῶς μοι χρῆσαι, ὦ Ἀλέξανδρε. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἡσθεὶς τῷ λόγῳ, Τοῦτο μὲν ἔσται σοι, ὦ Πῶρε, ἔφη, ἐμοῦ ἕνεκα· σὺ δὲ σαυτοῦ ἕνεκα ὅ τι σοὶ φίλον ἀξίου. Ὁ δὲ πάντα ἔφη ἐν
3 τούτῳ ἐνεῖναι. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος τούτῳ ἔτι μᾶλλον τῷ λόγῳ ἡσθεὶς τήν τε ἀρχὴν τῷ Πώρῳ τῶν τε αὐτοῦ Ἰνδῶν ἔδωκε καὶ ἄλλην ἔτι χώραν πρὸς τῇ πάλαι οὔσῃ πλείονα τῆς πρόσθεν προσέθηκε· καὶ οὕτως αὐτός τε βασιλικῶς κεχρημένος ἦν ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ἐκείνῳ ἐκ τούτου ἐς ἅπαντα πιστῷ ἐχρήσατο. Τοῦτο τὸ τέλος τῇ μάχῃ τῇ πρὸς Πῶρόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἐπ᾽ ἐκεῖνα τοῦ Ὑδάσπου ποταμοῦ Ἰνδοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐγένετο ἐπ᾽ ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίοις Ἡγεμόνος Μουνυχιῶνος.

4 Ἵνα δὲ ἡ μάχη ξυνέβη καὶ ἔνθεν ὁρμηθεὶς ἐπέρασε τὸν Ὑδάσπην ποταμόν, πόλεις ἔκτισεν Ἀλέξανδρος. Καὶ τὴν μὲν Νίκαιαν τῆς νίκης τῆς κατ᾽ Ἰνδῶν ἐπώνυμον ὠνόμασε· τὴν δὲ Βουκεφάλαν ἐς τοῦ ἵππου τοῦ Βουκεφάλα τὴν μνήμην, ὃς ἀπέθανεν αὐτοῦ, οὐ βληθεὶς πρὸς
5 οὐδενός, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὸ καμάτου τε καὶ ἡλικίας. Ἦν γὰρ ἀμφὶ τὰ τριάκοντα ἔτη, καματηρὸς γενόμενος, πολλὰ δὲ πρόσθεν ξυγκαμών τε καὶ ξυγκινδυνεύσας Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ἀναβαινόμενός τε πρὸς μόνου Ἀλεξάνδρου ὁ Βουκεφάλας οὗτος, ὅτι τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας ἀπηξίου ἀμβάτας, καὶ μεγέθει μέγας καὶ τῷ θυμῷ γενναῖος. Σημεῖον δέ οἱ ἦν βοὸς κεφαλὴ ἐγκεχαραγμένη, ἐφ᾽ ὅτου καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο λέγουσιν ὅτι ἔφερεν· οἱ δὲ λέγουσιν

another king for his kingdom. Then Alexander first addressing him bade him say what he desired to be done with him. Porus is said to have replied: "Treat me, Alexander, like a king." And Alexander, pleased with the reply, answered: "It shall be as you desire, Porus, for my part; do you for your part ask what you desire." He replied that everything was contained in this one request. Alexander, then, all the more pleased with this reply, gave back to Porus his sovereignty over the Indians of his realm, and added also other besides his former territory even greater in extent; thus did he treat as a king a brave man, and from then on found him in all things faithful. This then was the issue of the battle of Alexander against Porus and the Indians on the far side of the Hydaspes; in the archonship at Athens of Hegemon and in the month Munychion.

In the plains where the battle was fought, and from which he set out to cross the Hydaspes, Alexander founded cities. The first he called Victoria,[1] from the victory over the Indians; the other, Bucephala,[2] in memory of his horse Bucephalas which died there, not wounded by anyone, but from exhaustion and age. For he was about thirty years old, and was a victim to fatigue; but up to then he had shared Alexander's toils and dangers in plenty, never mounted by any but Alexander himself, since Bucephalas would brook no other rider; in stature he was tall, and in spirit courageous. His mark was an ox-head branded upon him, and hence his name Bucephalas; others, however, say that he

[1] Greek, Nicaea, now perhaps Mong.
[2] Now perhaps Jelalpur.

ὅτι λευκὸν σῆμα εἶχεν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, μέλας ὢν αὐτός, εἰς βοὸς κεφαλὴν μάλιστα εἰκασμένον.
6 Οὗτος ὁ ἵππος ἐν τῇ Οὐξίων χώρᾳ ἀφανὴς ἐγένετο Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος προεκήρυξεν ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν πάντας ἀποκτενεῖν Οὐξίους, εἰ μὴ ἀπάξουσιν αὐτῷ τὸν ἵππον· καὶ ἀπήχθη εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῷ κηρύγματι. Τοσήδε μὲν σπουδὴ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἦν, τόσος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου φόβος τοῖς βαρβάροις. Καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐς τοσόνδε τετιμήσθω ὁ Βουκεφάλας οὗτος Ἀλεξάνδρου ἕνεκα.

XX. Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἀποθανόντες ἐν τῇ μάχῃ κεκόσμηντο τῷ πρέποντι κόσμῳ, ὁ δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς τὰ νομιζόμενα ἐπινίκια ἔθυε, καὶ ἀγὼν ἐποιεῖτο αὐτῷ γυμνικὸς καὶ ἱππικὸς αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ ὄχθῃ τοῦ Ὑδάσπου ἵναπερ τὸ πρῶτον διέβη
2 ἅμα τῷ στρατῷ. Κράτερον μὲν δὴ ξὺν μέρει τῆς στρατιᾶς ὑπελείπετο, τὰς πόλεις ἅστινας ταύτῃ ἔκτιζεν ἀναστήσοντά τε καὶ ἐκτειχιοῦντα· αὐτὸς δὲ ἤλαυνεν ὡς ἐπὶ τοὺς προσχώρους τῇ Πώρου ἀρχῇ Ἰνδούς. Ὄνομα δὲ ἦν τῷ ἔθνει Γλαυγανῖκαι, ὡς λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος, ὡς δὲ Πτολεμαῖος, Γλαῦσαι· ὁποτέρως δὲ ἔχει τὸ ὄνομα
3 οὔ μοι μέλει. Ἐπῄει δὲ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν Ἀλέξανδρος τῶν τε ἑταίρων ἱππέων ἔχων τοὺς ἡμίσεας καὶ τῶν πεζῶν ἀπὸ φάλαγγος ἑκάστης ἐπιλέκτους καὶ τοὺς ἱπποτοξότας ξύμπαντας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τοὺς τοξότας· καὶ προσε-
4 χώρουν αὐτῷ ὁμολογίᾳ πάντες. Καὶ ἔλαβε πόλεις μὲν ἐς τριάκοντα καὶ ἑπτά, ὧν ἵνα ὀλίγιστοι[1] ἦσαν οἰκήτορες πεντακισχιλίων οὐκ ἐλάττους ἦσαν, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοὺς μυρίους·

[1] ὀλίγιστοι Krüger, ὀλιγοστοὶ A.

had a white mark on his head—the rest being black —which was exactly like an ox-head. In the Uxian territory Alexander once lost him, and issued a proclamation throughout that territory that he would massacre every Uxian unless they brought him back his horse; immediately after the proclamation Bucephalas was restored to him. Such was Alexander's devotion to him, and such was the terror Alexander inspired in the natives. And now I must cease my panegyric on Bucephalas, which I make for Alexander's sake.

XX. As soon as the due tributes of respect had been paid to those who fell in the battle, Alexander sacrificed to the gods the customary thanksgivings of victory, and held a contest of athletics and cavalry games on the bank of the Hydaspes where he first crossed with his army. Craterus, with part of the forces, he left behind to build and fortify the cities he was founding here. Then he himself advanced towards the Indians who bordered on Porus' kingdom. The name of the tribe was Glauganicae, as Aristobulus says, but Ptolemy calls them Glausae; I do not trouble myself which was the exact form of the name. Alexander invaded their country, with half of the Companions' cavalry, and picked men of the infantry from each phalanx, all the mounted archers, the Agrianes, and the unmounted archers; and the tribesmen all made their surrender to him. So he captured thirty-seven cities; of these, the least populated had above five thousand inhabitants; many of them had over ten thousand. He captured

καὶ κώμας πλήθει τε πολλὰς ἔλαβε καὶ πολυανθρώπους οὐ μεῖον τῶν πόλεων. Καὶ ταύτης τῆς χώρας Πώρῳ ἄρχειν ἔδωκε· καὶ Ταξίλῃ δὲ διαλλάττει Πῶρον καὶ Ταξίλην ἀποπέμπει ὀπίσω ἐς τὰ ἤθη τὰ αὑτοῦ.

5 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ παρά τε Ἀβισάρου πρέσβεις ἧκον, ἐνδιδόντες αὐτόν τε Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Ἀβισάρην καὶ τὴν χώραν ὅσης ἦρχε. Καίτοι πρό γε τῆς μάχης τῆς πρὸς Πῶρον γενομένης Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐπενόει Ἀβισάρης καὶ αὐτὸς ξὺν Πώρῳ τάσσεσθαι· τότε δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν αὑτοῦ ξὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις πρέσβεσι παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἔπεμψε, χρήματά τε κομίζοντα καὶ ἐλέφαντας τεσσαράκοντα
6 δῶρον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. Ἧκον δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν αὐτονόμων Ἰνδῶν πρέσβεις παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ παρὰ Πώρου ἄλλου του ὑπάρχου Ἰνδῶν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ διὰ τάχους Ἀβισάρην ἰέναι παρ' αὐτὸν κελεύει, ἐπαπειλήσας, εἰ μὴ ἔλθοι, ὅτι αὐτὸν ὄψεται ἥκοντα ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἵνα οὐ χαιρήσει ἰδών.

7 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Φραταφέρνης τε ὁ Παρθυαίων καὶ Ὑρκανίας σατράπης τοὺς καταλειφθέντας παρὰ οἷ Θρᾷκας ἄγων ἧκεν ὡς Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ παρὰ Σισικόττου τοῦ Ἀσσακηνῶν σατράπου ἄγγελοι, ὅτι τόν τε ὕπαρχον σφῶν ἀπεκτονότες εἶεν οἱ Ἀσσακηνοὶ καὶ ἀπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀφεστηκότες. Καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους Φίλιππον ἐκπέμπει καὶ Τυριάσπην σὺν στρατιᾷ, τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀσσακηνῶν χώραν καταστησομένους καὶ κοσμήσοντας.

8 Αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀκεσίνην ποταμὸν προὐχώρει. Τούτου τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου ποταμοῦ τὸ μέγεθος μόνου τῶν Ἰνδῶν ποταμῶν Πτολεμαῖος

also a large number of villages, not less populous than their cities. He gave the rule of this territory to Porus; Porus also he reconciled to Taxiles, and then dismissed Taxiles back to his own tribes.

Meanwhile envoys came from Abisares, offering to Alexander surrender of Abisares himself and the country over which he ruled. And yet before the battle with Porus, Abisares had the intention of ranging himself on Porus' side. But now he sent his own brother with the other envoys to Alexander, bringing treasure, and forty elephants, as a gift to Alexander. There came also to Alexander envoys from the self-governing Indians, and from a governor of certain Indians, also called Porus. Alexander on this quickly sent a message to Abisares bidding him come to him, threatening, if he should not come, that Abisares should behold him come with his army, and would have cause to rue the sight.

In the meantime Phrataphernes the satrap of Parthyaea and Hyrcania came to Alexander, bringing the Thracians left behind with him; there came also messengers from Sisicottus satrap of the Assacenians, to say that the Assacenians had assassinated their governor and had broken away from Alexander. Against these Alexander sent Philippus and Tyriaspes with an army to subdue the territory of the Assacenians and bring it into order.

Then he himself moved towards the river Acesines. Of this river Acesines only, among the rivers of India,

ὁ Λάγου ἀνέγραψεν· εἶναι γὰρ ἵνα ἐπέρασεν αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ τῶν πλοίων τε καὶ τῶν διφθερῶν ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ τὸ μὲν ῥεῦμα ὀξὺ τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου πέτραις μεγάλαις καὶ ὀξείαις, καθ' ὧν φερόμενον βίᾳ τὸ ὕδωρ κυμαίνεσθαί τε καὶ καχλάζειν· τὸ δὲ εὖρος σταδίους ἐπέχειν πεντε-
9 καίδεκα. Καὶ τοῖς μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ τῶν διφθερῶν περῶσιν εὐμαρῆ γενέσθαι τὸν πόρον· τοὺς δὲ ἐν τοῖς πλοίοις διαβαίνοντας ἐποκειλάντων πολλῶν πλοίων ἐπὶ ταῖς πέτραις καὶ ξυναραχθέντων οὐκ ὀλίγους αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι διαφθαρῆναι. Εἴη ἂν οὖν ἐκ τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου ξυντιθέντι τεκμηριοῦσθαι ὅτι οὐ πόρρω τοῦ ἀληθοῦς ἀναγέγραπται τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ μέγεθος ὅσοις ἐς τεσσαράκοντα σταδίους δοκεῖ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ εἶναι τὸ εὖρος ἵνα μέσως ἔχει αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἰνδός· ἵνα δὲ στενώτατός τε καὶ διὰ στενότητα βαθύτατος, ἐς τοὺς πεντεκαίδεκα συνάγεσθαι· καὶ ταῦτα πολλαχῇ εἶναι τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου τεκμαίρομαι ἐπιλέξασθαι Ἀλέξανδρον ἵναπερ τὸ πλατύτατον ἦν τοῦ πόρου, ὡς σχολαιτέρῳ χρήσασθαι τῷ ῥεύματι.

XXI. Περάσας δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν Κοῖνον μὲν ξὺν τῇ αὐτοῦ τάξει ἀπολείπει αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ ὄχθῃ, προστάξας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς ὑπολελειμμένης στρατιᾶς τῆς διαβάσεως, οἳ τόν τε σῖτον αὐτῷ τὸν ἐκ τῆς ἤδη ὑπηκόου τῶν Ἰνδῶν χώρας καὶ
2 τὰ ἄλλα ἐπιτήδεια παρακομίζειν ἔμελλον· Πῶρον δὲ ἐς τὰ αὑτοῦ ἤθη ἀποπέμπει, κελεύσας Ἰνδῶν τε τοὺς μαχιμωτάτους ἐπιλεξάμενον καὶ εἴ τινας παρ' αὐτῷ ἔχοι ἐλέφαντας, τούτους δὲ ἀναλαβόντα ἰέναι παρ' αὐτόν. Αὐτὸς δὲ Πῶρον τὸν

Ptolemaeus son of Lagus has described the size; its stream, he says, at the point where Alexander crossed it with his army, on the boats and hides, is very swift, with great and sharp rocks; the water rushes down over these, foaming and roaring; the breadth is fifteen stades. For those who crossed on the hides, he says, the crossing was easy; but a good number of those who made the transit in the boats were lost in the stream, since several boats were dashed upon the rocks and so were wrecked. From this account one may conjecture that writers are not far from the truth who have given the size of the river Indus as forty stades in breadth at its mean width; but that where it is narrowest, and for that reason deepest, it shrinks to some fifteen stades; and that this is in many places its breadth. Further, I gather that Alexander chose the widest part of the river Acesines to cross, that he might have the current slower.

XXI. When therefore he had crossed the river, Alexander left Coenus with his brigade on the bank, bidding him supervise the crossing of the remainder of the army; for they were to convoy thither the corn from the part of India already subject to him, and all other necessaries. Porus he sent back to his own kingdom, with orders that he should select the most warlike of the Indians, and any elephants he had with him, and bring these to join him. Then Alexander purposed to pursue with the lightest of

ἕτερον τὸν κακόν, ὅτι ἐξηγγέλθη πεφευγέναι
ἀπολιπὼν τὴν χώραν ἧς ἦρχεν, ἐπενόει διώκειν
3 ξὺν τοῖς κουφοτάτοις τῆς στρατιᾶς. Ὁ γὰρ
Πῶρος οὗτος, ἔστε μὲν πολέμια ξυνειστήκει
Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἄλλον Πῶρον, πρέσβεις
παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον πέμπων, αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ
οἷ χώραν ἐνεδίδου Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, κατὰ ἔχθος τὸ
Πώρου μᾶλλον ἢ φιλίᾳ τῇ Ἀλεξάνδρου· ὡς δὲ
ἀφειμένον τε ἐκεῖνον καὶ πρὸς τῇ αὑτοῦ καὶ
ἄλλης πολλῆς ἄρχοντα ἔμαθε, τότε δὴ φοβηθείς,
οὐχ οὕτω τι Ἀλέξανδρον, ὡς τὸν Πῶρον ἐκεῖνον
τὸν ὁμώνυμον, φεύγει τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, ἀναλαβὼν
ὅσους τῶν μαχίμων ξυμπεῖσαι ἠδυνήθη μετασχεῖν
οἱ τῆς φυγῆς.
4 Ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἐλαύνων Ἀλέξανδρος ἀφικνεῖται
ἐπὶ τὸν Ὑδραώτην ποταμόν, ἄλλον αὖ τοῦτον
Ἰνδὸν ποταμόν, τὸ μὲν εὖρος οὐ μείονα τοῦ
Ἀκεσίνου, ὀξύτητι δὲ τοῦ ῥοῦ μείονα. Ὅσην
δὲ τῆς χώρας ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸν Ὑδραώτην ἐπῆλθε,
φυλακὰς ὑπέλιπεν ἐν τοῖς ἐπικαιροτάτοις χωρίοις,
ὅπως οἱ ἀμφὶ Κράτερόν τε καὶ Κοῖνον δι'
ἀσφαλείας ἐπέρχοιντο τῆς χώρας τὴν πολλὴν
5 προνομεύοντες. Ἐνταῦθα Ἡφαιστίωνα μὲν ἐκ-
πέμπει, δοὺς αὐτῷ μέρος τῆς στρατιᾶς, πεζῶν
μὲν φάλαγγας δύο, ἱππέων δὲ τήν τε αὑτοῦ
καὶ τὴν Δημητρίου ἱππαρχίαν καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν
τοὺς ἡμίσεας, ἐς τὴν Πώρου τοῦ ἀφεστηκότος
χώραν, κελεύσας παραδιδόναι ταύτην Πώρῳ τῷ
ἄλλῳ, καὶ εἰ δή τινα πρὸς ταῖς ὄχθαις τοῦ Ὑδραώ-
του ποταμοῦ αὐτόνομα ἔθνη Ἰνδῶν νέμεται, καὶ
ταῦτα προσαγαγόμενον τῷ Πώρῳ ἄρχειν ἐγχει-
6 ρίσαι. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπέρα τὸν Ὑδραώτην ποταμόν,

his troops the other Porus, the bad one, because he was reported to have left his own province and fled. For this Porus, as long as Alexander's relations had remained unfriendly towards the first Porus, had sent envoys to Alexander, offering surrender of himself and his province, rather from hatred of the other Porus than from any friendly feelings towards Alexander; but learning that he had been released, and was now ruler of a considerable new province, besides his own, he became alarmed, not so much about Alexander as about his namesake, and fled from his country, taking with him so many of the warlike tribesmen as he could persuade to share his flight.

In pursuit of him Alexander arrived at the river Hydraotes, another Indian river, in breadth not less than the Acesines, but inferior in swiftness of current. In all the country which he had traversed, as far as the Hydraotes, he left guards in the most convenient spots, so that the troops with Craterus and Coenus might with safety traverse the greater part of the country in their search for provision. Here he despatched Hephaestion, giving him part of the army, two phalanxes of foot-soldiers, and of cavalry, his own regiment, and that of Demetrius, and half the archers, to the province of the rebellious Porus, bidding him hand this province to the other Porus, together with any other independent Indian tribes dwelling along the banks of the Hydraotes; these too he was to take over, and give them to Porus to govern. Then he himself crossed the Hydraotes,

οὐ καθάπερ τὸν Ἀκεσίνην χαλεπῶς. Προχωροῦντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα τῆς ὄχθης τοῦ Ὑδραώτου τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς καθ' ὁμολογίαν προσχωρεῖν ξυνέβαινεν, ἤδη δέ τινας ξὺν ὅπλοις ἀπαντήσαντας· τοὺς δὲ καὶ ὑποφεύγοντας ἑλὼν βίᾳ κατεστρέψατο.

XXII. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἐξαγγέλλεται Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῶν αὐτονόμων Ἰνδῶν ἄλλους τέ τινας καὶ τοὺς καλουμένους Καθαίους αὐτούς τε παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς πρὸς μάχην, εἰ προσάγοι τῇ χώρᾳ αὐτῶν Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ ὅσα ὅμορά σφισιν ὡσαύτως αὐτόνομα, καὶ ταῦτα παρακαλεῖν ἐς τὸ ἔργον·
2 εἶναι δὲ τήν τε πόλιν ὀχυρὰν πρὸς ἣν ἐπενόουν ἀγωνίσασθαι· Σάγγαλα ἦν τῇ πόλει ὄνομα, καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ Καθαῖοι εὐτολμότατοί τε καὶ τὰ πολέμια κράτιστοι ἐνομίζοντο· καὶ τούτοις κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ Ὀξυδράκαι ἄλλο Ἰνδῶν ἔθνος, καὶ Μαλλοί, ἄλλο καὶ τοῦτο· ἐπεὶ καὶ ὀλίγῳ πρόσθεν στρατεύσαντας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Πῶρόν τε καὶ Ἀβισάρην ξύν τε τῇ σφετέρᾳ δυνάμει καὶ πολλὰ ἄλλα ἔθνη τῶν αὐτονόμων Ἰνδῶν ἀναστήσαντας οὐδὲν πράξαντας τῆς παρασκευῆς ἄξιον ξυνέβη ἀπελθεῖν.

3 Ταῦτα ὡς ἐξηγγέλθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, σπουδῇ ἤλαυνεν ὡς ἐπὶ τοὺς Καθαίους. Καὶ δευτεραῖος μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ὑδραώτου πρὸς πόλιν ἧκεν ᾗ ὄνομα Πίμπραμα· τὸ δ' ἔθνος τοῦτο τῶν Ἰνδῶν Ἀδραϊσταὶ ἐκαλοῦντο. Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ
4 προσεχώρησαν ὁμολογίᾳ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀναπαύσας τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τὴν στρατιάν,

not with the difficulties which the Acesines had caused. Then as he continued on the farther bank of the Hydraotes most of the tribesmen came and surrendered voluntarily, some in fact who had actually come to meet him under arms. Others again he captured when attempting flight, and subdued them by force.

XXII. Meanwhile it was reported to Alexander that some of the self-governing Indians, in particular the people called Cathaeans, were getting themselves ready for battle, in case Alexander should approach their country, and were urging to the same enterprise all other self-governing tribes on their borders. Their city, it was said, was a very strong one, and there they proposed to make their stand. Its name was Sangala,[1] and the Cathaeans themselves were considered very brave and very powerful in war; in the same mood with them were the Oxydracae, another Indian tribe, and Mallians, another; not long before, in fact, Porus and Abisares had marched against them with their force and had also stirred up many other self-governing Indian tribes against them; but they had achieved nothing commensurate with so great a host, and so had retreated.

When this was reported to Alexander he marched at full speed against the Cathaeans. In two days after leaving the river Hydraotes he came to a city named Pimprama; this tribe of Indians is called the Adraistae. They surrendered by agreement to Alexander. The next day Alexander rested his

[1] Some authorities identify Sangala with Lahore. Cathaea was, according to Strabo (xv. 1), the kingdom of Sopeithes (Book VI, c. 2, below).

τῇ τρίτῃ προὐχώρει ἐπὶ τὰ Σάγγαλα, ἵνα οἱ Καθαῖοί τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρόσχωροι αὐτοῖς ξυνεληλυθότες πρὸ τῆς πόλεως παρατεταγμένοι ἦσαν ἐπὶ γηλόφου οὐ πάντη ἀποτόμου· κύκλῳ δὲ τοῦ γηλόφου ἁμάξας περιστήσαντες ἐντὸς αὐτῶν ἐστρατοπέδευον, ὡς τριπλοῦν χάρακα προβεβλῆσθαι τῶν [1] ἁμαξῶν.

5 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τό τε πλῆθος κατιδὼν τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ τοῦ χωρίου τὴν φύσιν, ὡς μάλιστα πρὸς τὰ παρόντα ἐν καιρῷ οἱ ἐφαίνετο παρετάσσετο· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἱπποτοξότας εὐθὺς ὡς εἶχεν ἐκπέμπει ἐπ' αὐτούς, ἀκροβολίζεσθαι κελεύσας παριππεύοντας, ὡς μήτε ἐκδρομήν τινα ποιήσασθαι τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς πρὶν ξυνταχθῆναι αὐτῷ τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ ὡς πληγὰς γίγνεσθαι αὐτοῖς
6 καὶ πρὸ τῆς μάχης ἐντὸς τοῦ ὀχυρώματος. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως τῶν ἱππέων τὸ ἄγημα κατέστησε καὶ τὴν Κλείτου ἱππαρχίαν, ἐχομένους δὲ τούτων τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας· κατὰ δὲ τὸ εὐώνυμον Περδίκκας αὐτῷ ἐτέτακτο, τήν τε αὑτοῦ ἔχων ἱππαρχίαν καὶ τὰς τῶν πεζεταίρων [2] τάξεις· ἐπὶ κέρως δὲ ἑκατέρου οἱ τοξόται αὐτῷ διχῇ διακριθέντες ἐτάχθησαν.

7 Ἐκτάσσοντι δὲ αὐτῷ παρεγένοντο καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς ὀπισθοφυλακίας πεζοί τε καὶ ἱππεῖς. Καὶ τούτων τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας ἐπὶ τὰ κέρατα διελὼν παρήγαγεν· ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν πεζῶν τῶν προσγενομένων πυκνοτέραν τὴν ξύγκλεισιν τῆς φάλαγγος

[1] πρὸ before τῶν omitted by Vulcanius. τῶν ἁμαξῶν is a genitive of identity; "a triple line, viz. the waggons."
[2] ἀσθεταίρων A.

troops, and on the third marched towards Sangala, where the Cathaeans and their neighbours who had joined them were arrayed in front of the city on a hill not equally steep on all sides; round about the hill they had arranged their waggons and were camping within them; thus the waggons formed a triple line of defence.

But Alexander, perceiving the large number of the tribesmen and the nature of the place, made his counter dispositions as seemed best for the exigencies of the moment; the mounted archers without delay he despatched against them, with orders to keep riding along the front and shoot at long range, so that the Indians should not make any sally before he had marshalled his forces and that they might already be wounded even within their stronghold, before the battle began. He himself on the right wing posted the special squadron of cavalry and Cleitus' Horse, next to them, his bodyguard, and then the Agrianes; Perdiccas was posted on his left with his own Horse and the brigades of the Companions' infantry. On either wing he had stationed the archers, equally divided.

Now while Alexander was thus arranging his troops there came up the infantry and cavalry of the rearguard. Of these, he divided up the cavalry and sent them off to either wing; and by means of the infantry who thus joined him he increased

ποιήσας, αὐτὸς ἀναλαβὼν τὴν ἵππον τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ τεταγμένην παρήγαγεν ἐπὶ τὰς κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἁμάξας. Ταύτῃ γὰρ εὐπροσοδώτερον αὐτῷ ἐφαίνετο τὸ χωρίον καὶ οὐ πυκναὶ ὡσαύτως αἱ ἅμαξαι ἐφειστήκεσαν.

XXIII. Ὡς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἵππον προσαγαγοῦσαν οὐκ ἐξέδραμον οἱ Ἰνδοὶ ἔξω τῶν ἁμαξῶν, ἀλλ' ἐπιβεβηκότες αὐτῶν ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ ἠκροβολίζοντο, γνοὺς Ἀλέξανδρος ὅτι οὐκ εἴη τῶν ἱππέων τὸ ἔργον, καταπηδήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου πεζὸς ἐπῆγε
2 τῶν πεζῶν τὴν φάλαγγα. Καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν πρώτων ἁμαξῶν οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐβιάσαντο οἱ Μακεδόνες τοὺς Ἰνδούς· πρὸ δὲ τῶν δευτέρων οἱ Ἰνδοὶ παραταξάμενοι ῥᾷον ἀπεμάχοντο, οἷα δὴ πυκνότεροί τε ἐφεστηκότες ἐν ἐλάττονι[1] τῷ κύκλῳ καὶ τῶν Μακεδόνων οὐ κατ' εὐρυχωρίαν ὡσαύτως προσαγόντων σφίσιν, ἐν ᾧ τάς τε πρώτας ἁμάξας ὑπεξῆγον καὶ κατὰ τὰ διαλείμματα αὐτῶν ὡς ἑκάστοις προὐχώρει ἀτάκτως προσέβαλλον· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων ὅμως ἐξώσθησαν
3 οἱ Ἰνδοὶ βιασθέντες πρὸς τῆς φάλαγγος. Οἱ δὲ οὐκέτι ἐπὶ τῶν τρίτων ἔμενον, ἀλλ' ὡς τάχους εἶχον φυγῇ εἰς τὴν πόλιν κατεκλείσθησαν. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν περιεστρατοπέδευσε τοῖς πεζοῖς τὴν πόλιν ὅσα γε ἠδυνήθη αὐτῷ περιβαλεῖν ἡ φάλαγξ· ἐπὶ πολὺ γὰρ ἐπέχον τὸ τεῖχος τῷ στρατοπέδῳ κυκλώσασθαι
4 οὐ δυνατὸς ἐγένετο· κατὰ δὲ τὰ διαλείποντα αὐτοῦ, ἵνα καὶ λίμνη οὐ μακρὰν τοῦ τείχους ἦν, τοὺς ἱππέας ἐπέταξεν ἐν κύκλῳ τῆς λίμνης, γνοὺς οὐ βαθεῖαν οὖσαν τὴν λίμνην καὶ ἅμα

[1] ἐν ἐλάττονι so Gronow from K.

the solidity of his phalanx. Then himself taking the cavalry posted on the right, he led them against the waggons on the Indians' left. For the ground on this side seemed easier, and the waggons were not packed so closely.

XXIII. Since, however, the Indians did not sally out from the line of waggons upon the cavalry as it rode up, but mounted on them instead and shot volleys of arrows from them, Alexander, recognizing that the action was not work for cavalry, leapt down from his horse and on foot led to the attack the phalanx of foot-soldiers. From the first line of waggons the Macedonians easily forced the Indians; but before the second line the Indians drew themselves up in order and with less difficulty defended themselves, since they were in denser formation in a smaller circle, and the Macedonians could not approach them, as before, through an open space, while they were removing the first row of waggons and then charging in without order through the spaces between, just as each man made his way. Yet even from this second line the Indians were forced back by the phalanx. And now they no longer attempted to make a stand at the third line of waggons, but with all speed retreated and shut themselves into the city. For this day, then, Alexander camped with his infantry round the city, so far at least as the phalanx could surround; for since the wall stretched a considerable distance he could not entirely surround it with his troops while encamped, but in the intervals, where there was a lake also, not far from the wall, he posted his cavalry surrounding the lake, as he noticed that the lake

εἰκάσας ὅτι φοβεροὶ γενόμενοι οἱ Ἰνδοὶ ἀπὸ τῆς
προτέρας ἥττης ἀπολείψουσι τῆς νυκτὸς τὴν
5 πόλιν. Καὶ ξυνέβη οὕτως ὅπως εἴκασεν· ἀμφὶ
γὰρ δευτέραν φυλακὴν ἐκπίπτοντες ἐκ τοῦ τείχους
οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἐνέκυρσαν ταῖς προφυλακαῖς
τῶν ἱππέων, καὶ οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι αὐτῶν κατεκόπη-
σαν πρὸς τῶν ἱππέων· οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις αἰσθό-
μενοι ὅτι φυλάσσεται ἐν κύκλῳ ἡ λίμνη ἐς τὴν
πόλιν αὖθις ἀνεχώρησαν.
6 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ χάρακί τε διπλῷ περιβάλλει
ἵναπερ μὴ εἶργεν ἡ λίμνη τὴν πόλιν καὶ φυλακὰς
ἐν κύκλῳ τῆς λίμνης ἀκριβεστέρας κατέστησεν.
Αὐτὸς δὲ μηχανὰς προσάγειν τῷ τείχει ἐπενόει,
ὡς κατασείειν τὸ τεῖχος. Αὐτομολήσαντες δὲ
αὐτῷ τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεώς τινες φράζουσιν ὅτι ἐν
νῷ ἔχοιεν αὐτῆς ἐκείνης τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκπίπτειν ἐκ
τῆς πόλεως οἱ Ἰνδοὶ κατὰ τὴν λίμνην ἵναπερ
7 τὸ ἐκλιπὲς ἦν τοῦ χάρακος. Ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαῖον
τὸν Λάγου ἐπιτάττει ἐνταῦθα, τῶν τε ὑπασπιστῶν
αὐτῷ δοὺς χιλιαρχίας τρεῖς καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας
ξύμπαντας καὶ μίαν τάξιν τῶν τοξοτῶν, ἀπο-
δείξας τὸ χωρίον ᾗπερ μάλιστα εἴκαζε βιάσεσθαι
τοὺς βαρβάρους· Σὺ δὲ ἐπειδὰν αἴσθῃ, ἔφη,
βιαζομένους ταύτῃ, αὐτὸς μὲν ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ
εἶργειν τοὺς βαρβάρους τοῦ πρόσω, τὸν δὲ
σαλπιγκτὴν κέλευε σημαίνειν· ὑμεῖς δέ, ἄνδρες
ἡγεμόνες, ἐπειδὰν σημανθῇ, ξὺν τοῖς καθ' αὑτοὺς
ἕκαστοι ξυντεταγμένοι ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὸν θόρυβον ἵν'
ἂν ἡ σάλπιγξ παρακαλῇ. Ἀποστατήσω δὲ οὐδὲ
ἐγὼ τοῦ ἔργου.

XXIV. Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα παρήγγειλε· Πτολεμαῖος
δὲ ἁμάξας τε ἐκ τῶν ἀπολελειμμένων ἐν τῇ

was shallow and also conjectured that the Indians, terrified from the previous defeat, would desert the city at night. It fell out exactly as he conjectured; about the second watch, sure enough, the greater part of them slipped out from the wall and fell in with the cavalry outposts; the first-comers were cut down by the cavalry; the next, perceiving that the lake was guarded all round, retired again into the city.

Alexander, however, threw a double stockade all round, where the lake did not guard the city, and posted his outposts round about the lake more carefully. Then he himself proposed to bring up engines against the wall, to batter it. But some of the inhabitants of the city deserted to him; and these told him that the Indians proposed to slip out of the city that night, by the lake, just where there was the gap in the stockade. Then he posted there Ptolemaeus son of Lagus, giving him three regiments of the bodyguards, all the Agrianes, and one brigade of archers, and pointing out the place where he most conjectured that the tribesmen would try to force their way; "so soon," he said, "as you perceive them to be trying to force a way through here, you yourself will, with your army, prevent their going farther; and will at once bid the bugler to sound an alarm; and you, officers, on this signal, will each with his appointed forces make for the disturbance wherever the bugle calls you. Nor shall I myself be a laggard in this action."

XXIV. Such were Alexander's orders; and Ptolemaeus, gathering together as many as possible of

πρώτῃ φυγῇ ἁμαξῶν ταύτῃ ξυναγαγὼν ὡς
πλείστας κατέστησεν ἐγκαρσίας, ἵνα πολλὰ ἐν
νυκτὶ τὰ ἄπορα φαίνηται τοῖς φεύγουσι, καὶ τοῦ
χάρακος τοῦ κεκομμένου τε καὶ οὐ καταπηχθέντος
συννῆσαι ἄλλῃ καὶ ἄλλῃ ἐκέλευσεν ἐν μέσῳ τῆς
τε λίμνης καὶ τοῦ τείχους. Καὶ ταῦτα αὐτῷ
2 οἱ στρατιῶται ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ἐξειργάσαντο. Ἤδη
τε ἦν ἀμφὶ τετάρτην φυλακὴν καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι,
καθάπερ ἐξήγγελτο Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ἀνοίξαντες τὰς
ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην πύλας δρόμῳ ἐπ᾽ αὐτὴν
ἐφέροντο. Οὐ μὴν ἔλαθον τὰς ταύτῃ φυλακὰς
οὐδὲ Πτολεμαῖον τὸν ἐπ᾽ αὐταῖς τεταγμένον·
ἀλλὰ ἐν τούτῳ οἵ τε σαλπιγκταὶ ἐσήμαινον αὐτῷ
καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν στρατιὰν ὡπλισμένην τε καὶ
ξυντεταγμένην ἔχων ἐχώρει ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους.
3 Τοῖς δὲ αἵ τε ἅμαξαι ἐμποδὼν ἦσαν καὶ ὁ χάραξ
ἐν μέσῳ καταβεβλημένος. Ὡς δὲ ἥ τε σάλπιγξ
ἐφθέγξατο καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Πτολεμαῖον προσέκειντο
αὐτοῖς, τοὺς ἀεὶ ἐκπίπτοντας διὰ τῶν ἁμαξῶν
κατακαίνοντες, ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἀποστρέφονται αὖθις
ἐς τὴν πόλιν. Καὶ ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ἀπο-
χωρήσει ἐς πεντακοσίους.
4 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Πῶρος ἀφίκετο, τούς τε
ὑπολοίπους ἐλέφαντας ἅμα οἷ ἄγων καὶ τῶν
Ἰνδῶν ἐς πεντακισχιλίους· αἵ τε μηχαναὶ Ἀλεξ-
άνδρῳ ξυμπεπηγμέναι ἦσαν καὶ προσήγοντο ἤδη
τῷ τείχει. Ἀλλὰ οἱ Μακεδόνες, πρὶν καὶ κατα-
σεισθῆναί τι τοῦ τείχους, ὑπορύττοντές τε αὐτοὶ
πλίνθινον ὂν τὸ τεῖχος καὶ τὰς κλίμακας ἐν
κύκλῳ πάντῃ προσθέντες αἱροῦσι κατὰ κράτος
5 τὴν πόλιν. Καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσι μὲν ἐν τῇ κατα-
λήψει τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἐς μυρίους καὶ ἑπτακισχιλίους,

the waggons left behind in the first flight, set them crosswise, that the fugitives at night might find a good many obstacles; moreover, he ordered any part of the stockade which had been cut but not yet fixed down to be joined up at different points between the lake and the wall. This his men completed by night. It was now about the fourth watch, and the tribesmen, as Alexander had been informed, opened the gates leading to the lake and ran towards it. Yet they did not escape the guards on this side, nor yet Ptolemaeus, who was posted in charge of them; but at once his buglers sounded the alarm, and he with his forces fully armed and in good order moved against the tribesmen. These found their way barred by the waggons, and the stockade thrown in the intervening space. And when the bugle sounded and Ptolemaeus and his troops pressed hard upon them, cutting them down as fast as they tried to slip out between the waggons, they turned and fled back to the city. Some five hundred perished in this withdrawal.

Meanwhile Porus arrived, bringing with him the rest of the elephants and some five thousand Indians, and Alexander already had his siege engines put together, and they were now being brought up to the wall. But the Macedonians, before any part of the wall was battered, began to undermine it, for it was of brick, and then setting up their ladders all round, captured the city by assault. And in the capture of the city there perished some seventeen thousand of the Indians, and over seventy

ἑάλωσαν δὲ ὑπὲρ τὰς ἑπτὰ μυριάδας καὶ ἅρματα τριακόσια καὶ ἱππεῖς πεντακόσιοι. Τῆς δὲ ξὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ στρατιᾶς ἀπέθανον μὲν ὀλίγον ἀποδέοντες τῶν ἑκατὸν ἐν τῇ πάσῃ πολιορκίᾳ· τραυματίαι δὲ οὐ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νεκρῶν ἐγένοντο, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοὺς χιλίους καὶ διακοσίους, καὶ ἐν τούτοις τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἄλλοι τε καὶ Λυσίμαχος ὁ σωματοφύλαξ.

6 Θάψας δὲ ὡς νόμος αὐτῷ τοὺς τελευτήσαντας, Εὐμένη τὸν γραμματέα ἐκπέμπει ἐς τὰς δύο πόλεις τὰς ξυναφεστώσας τοῖς Σαγγάλοις, δοὺς αὐτῷ τῶν ἱππέων ἐς τριακοσίους, φράσοντας τοῖς ἔχουσι τὰς πόλεις τῶν τε Σαγγάλων τὴν ἅλωσιν καὶ ὅτι αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἔσται χαλεπὸν ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου ὑπομένουσί τε καὶ δεχομένοις φιλίως Ἀλέξανδρον· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἄλλοις τισὶ γενέσθαι τῶν αὐτονόμων Ἰνδῶν ὅσοι ἑκόντες σφᾶς ἐνέ-
7 δοσαν. Οἱ δέ (ἤδη γὰρ ἐξήγγελτο αὐτοῖς κατὰ κράτος ἑαλωκότα πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου τὰ Σάγγαλα) φοβεροὶ γενόμενοι ἔφευγον ἀπολιπόντες τὰς πόλεις. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐπειδὴ ἐξηγγέλθη αὐτῷ ἡ φυγή, σπουδῇ ἐδίωκεν· ἀλλὰ οἱ πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτῶν ἔφθασαν ἀποφυγόντες, διὰ μακροῦ γὰρ ἡ δίωξις ἐγίγνετο· ὅσοι δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἀποχώρησιν ἀσθενείᾳ ὑπελείποντο, οὗτοι ἐγκαταληφθέντες πρὸς τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπέθανον ἐς πεντα-
8 κοσίους μάλιστα. Ὡς δὲ ἀπέγνω διώκειν τοῦ πρόσω τοὺς φεύγοντας, ἐπανελθὼν ἐς τὰ Σάγγαλα, τὴν πόλιν μὲν κατέσκαψε, τὴν χώραν δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν τοῖς πάλαι μὲν αὐτονόμοις, τότε δὲ

thousand were captured, with three hundred waggons, and five hundred horsemen. Of Alexander's force were lost rather under a hundred in the entire siege; the wounded were out of proportion to the slain, over twelve hundred; among them several of the officers and Lysimachus the officer of the bodyguard.

Alexander, when he had buried the dead, after his custom, sent Eumenes [1] the clerk to the two cities which had rebelled at the same time as Sangala, giving him three hundred cavalry, to announce to the defenders of the cities the capture of Sangala, and to proclaim that Alexander would not treat them harshly if they stayed where they were and received Alexander in a friendly way, just as he had shown no harshness to any other of the self-governing Indians who had voluntarily surrendered. But they (for they had already heard that Alexander had captured Sangala by assault) were terrified, left their cities, and took to flight. Alexander pursued them hotly, as soon as their flight was reported to him, but most of them had got safe away, for the pursuit began after some interval had passed. Any that had been left behind through infirmity during the withdrawal were captured there and put to death by the army, up to the number of five hundred. But deciding not to pursue the fugitives further, Alexander returned to Sangala, razed the city to the ground, and gave over the territory to those Indians who had formerly been self-governing but recently had sur-

[1] Eumenes of Cardia was clerk or secretary to Alexander, as he had been to Philip. Plutarch and Nepos wrote his Life. He was not popular with the Macedonian leaders, and was slain by Antigonus, after a striking career both as soldier and diplomat.

ἑκουσίως προσχωρήσασι προσέθηκε. Καὶ Πῶρον μὲν ξὺν τῇ δυνάμει τῇ ἀμφ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐκπέμπει ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις αἳ προσκεχωρήκεσαν, φρουρὰς εἰσάξοντα εἰς αὐτάς· αὐτὸς δὲ ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐπὶ τὸν Ὕφασιν ποταμὸν προὐχώρει, ὡς καὶ τοὺς ἐπ᾽ ἐκεῖνα Ἰνδοὺς καταστρέψαιτο. Οὐδὲ ἐφαίνετο αὐτῷ πέρας τι τοῦ πολέμου ἔστε ὑπελείπετό τι πολέμιον.

XXV. Τὰ δὲ δὴ πέραν τοῦ Ὑφάσιος ποταμοῦ εὐδαίμονά τε τὴν χώραν εἶναι ἐξηγγέλλετο καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἀγαθοὺς μὲν γῆς ἐργάτας, γενναίους δὲ τὰ πολέμια καὶ ἐς τὰ ἴδια δὲ σφῶν ἐν κόσμῳ πολιτεύοντας· πρὸς γὰρ τῶν ἀρίστων ἄρχεσθαι τοὺς πολλούς, τοὺς δὲ οὐδὲν ἔξω τοῦ ἐπιεικοῦς ἐξηγεῖσθαι. Πλῆθός τε ἐλεφάντων εἶναι τοῖς ταύτῃ ἀνθρώποις πολύ τι ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἰνδοὺς καὶ μεγέθει μεγίστους καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ.
2 Ταῦτα δὲ ἐξαγγελλόμενα Ἀλέξανδρον μὲν παρώξυνεν ἐς ἐπιθυμίαν τοῦ πρόσω ἰέναι· οἱ Μακεδόνες δὲ ἐξέκαμνον ἤδη ταῖς γνώμαις, πόνους τε ἐκ πόνων καὶ κινδύνους ἐκ κινδύνων ἐπαναιρούμενον ὁρῶντες τὸν βασιλέα· ξύλλογοί τε ἐγίγνοντο κατὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν μὲν τὰ σφέτερα ὀδυρομένων, ὅσοι ἐπιεικέστατοι, τῶν δὲ οὐκ ἀκολουθήσειν, οὐδ᾽ ἢν ἄγῃ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐπισχυριζομένων. Ταῦτα ὡς ἐπύθετο Ἀλέξανδρος, πρὶν καὶ ἐπὶ μεῖζον προελθεῖν τὴν ταραχὴν τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ τὴν ἀθυμίαν, ξυγκαλέσας τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν τάξεων ἔλεξεν ὧδε.
3 "Ὁρῶν ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες Μακεδόνες τε καὶ ξύμμαχοι, οὐχ ὁμοίᾳ ἔτι τῇ γνώμῃ ἑπομένους μοι ἐς τοὺς κινδύνους, ξυνήγαγον ἐς ταὐτό, ὡς

rendered voluntarily. Porus with his force he sent back to the cities which had surrendered, to set garrisons in them; and he with his army advanced to the Hyphasis, to subdue the Indians of that district also. For he felt there could be no end of the war as long as any hostility remained.

XXV. On the other side of the Hyphasis, so it was reported to Alexander, the country was fertile, the men good labourers of the soil and valiant warriors, who managed their own affairs in an orderly manner; most of them were under aristocracies, yet these made no demands other than reasonable. These people also had a number of elephants, a good many more than the other Indians, and these were, moreover, very large and courageous. This report only stirred Alexander to a desire for still further advance; but the Macedonians' spirits were already flagging, seeing the King undertaking toils after toils and dangers after dangers; meetings took place in the camp of men who grumbled at their present fate—those of the better kind—and of others who maintained stoutly that they would follow no farther, not even though Alexander should lead them. When Alexander heard of this, before this disturbance in the troops and their despair grew worse, he summoned the brigadiers and addressed them thus:

"I observe that you, Macedonians and allied forces, are not following me into dangers any longer with your old spirit. I have summoned you together,

ἢ πείσας ἄγειν τοῦ πρόσω ἢ πεισθεὶς ὀπίσω
ἀποστρέφεσθαι. Εἰ μὲν δὴ μεμπτοί εἰσιν ὑμῖν
οἱ μέχρι δεῦρο πονηθέντες πόνοι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ
ἡγούμενος, οὐδὲν ἔτι προὔργου λέγειν μοί ἐστιν.
4 Εἰ δὲ Ἰωνία τε πρὸς ὑμῶν διὰ τούσδε τοὺς πόνους
ἔχεται καὶ Ἑλλήσποντος καὶ Φρύγες ἀμφότεροι
καὶ Καππάδοκες καὶ Παφλαγόνες καὶ Λυδοὶ καὶ
Κᾶρες καὶ Λύκιοι καὶ Παμφυλία τε καὶ Φοινίκη
καὶ Αἴγυπτος ξὺν τῇ Λιβύῃ τῇ Ἑλληνικῇ καὶ
Ἀραβίας ἔστιν ἃ καὶ Συρία ἥ τε κοίλη καὶ ἡ
5 μέση τῶν ποταμῶν, καὶ Βαβυλὼν δὲ ἔχεται καὶ
τὸ Σουσίων ἔθνος καὶ Πέρσαι καὶ Μῆδοι καὶ
ὅσων Πέρσαι καὶ Μῆδοι ἐπῆρχον, καὶ ὅσων δὲ
οὐκ ἦρχον, τὰ ὑπὲρ τὰς Κασπίας πύλας, τὰ
ἐπ᾽ ἐκεῖνα τοῦ Καυκάσου, ὅ τι ἂν ἐς τὰ πρόσω ἔτι
τοῦ Ταναΐδος, Βακτριανοί, Ὑρκάνιοι, ἡ θάλασσα
ἡ Ὑρκανία, Σκύθας τε ἀνεστείλαμεν ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν
ἔρημον, ἐπὶ τούτοις μέντοι καὶ ὁ Ἰνδὸς ποταμὸς
διὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας ῥεῖ, ὁ Ὑδάσπης διὰ τῆς
ἡμετέρας, ὁ Ἀκεσίνης, ὁ Ὑδραώτης, τί ὀκνεῖτε
καὶ τὸν Ὕφασιν καὶ τὰ ἐπ᾽ ἐκεῖνα τοῦ Ὑφάσιος
γένη προσθεῖναι τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ Μακεδόνων ἀρχῇ;
6 ἢ δέδιτε μὴ δέξωνται ὑμᾶς ἔτι ἄλλοι βάρβαροι
ἐπιόντας; ὧν γε οἱ μὲν προσχωροῦσιν ἑκόντες, οἱ
δὲ φεύγοντες ἁλίσκονται, οἱ δὲ ἀποφυγόντες τὴν
χώραν ἡμῖν ἔρημον παραδιδόασιν, ἡ δὲ τοῖς ξυμ-
μάχοις τε καὶ τοῖς ἑκουσίως προσχωρήσασι
προστίθεται.

XXVI. "Πέρας δὲ τῶν πόνων γενναίῳ μὲν
ἀνδρὶ οὐδὲν δοκῶ ἔγωγε ὅτι μὴ αὐτοὺς τοὺς
πόνους, ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἐς καλὰ ἔργα φέρουσιν. Εἰ
δέ τις καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ πολεμεῖν ποθεῖ ἀκοῦσαι ὅ

either to persuade you and go forward, or to be persuaded by you and turn back. If indeed there is any fault to find with the labours you have hitherto endured, and with me who have led you through them, there is no object in my speaking further. If, however, by these your labours Ionia is now in our hands, the Hellespont, both Phrygias, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Lydia, Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia, Phoenicia, Egypt, with the Greek part of Libya, part of Arabia, Lowland Syria, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Susia, Persia, Media, with all the nations subject to Persia and Media, and those that were not; if the regions beyond the Caspian gates, the parts beyond the Caucasus, and on the other side of the Tanais, Bactria, Hyrcania, the Hyrcanian Sea; if we have driven the Scythians into the desert; if, besides all this, the river Indus runs through territory now our own, the Hydaspes likewise, the Acesines, and the Hydraotes, why do you hesitate to add to this your Macedonian empire the tribes beyond the Hyphasis? Do you fear lest tribesmen yet remaining may withstand your approach? Why, some of them surrender readily, some run away, and are captured, some desert their country and leave it open for you, which we have handed over to our allies and those who have voluntarily come over to us.

XXVI. "I set no limit of labours to a man of spirit, save only the labours themselves, such as lead on to noble emprises. Yet should any desire to know what will be the limit of this our actual

τιπερ ἔσται πέρας, μαθέτω ὅτι οὐ πολλὴ ἔτι ἡμῖν ἡ λοιπή ἐστιν ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν τε Γάγγην καὶ τὴν ἑῴαν θάλασσαν· ταύτῃ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν ξυναφὴς φανεῖται ἡ Ὑρκανία θάλασσα· ἐκπεριέρχεται γὰρ γῆν περὶ πᾶσαν ἡ μεγάλη
2 θάλασσα. Καὶ ἐγὼ ἐπιδείξω Μακεδόσι τε καὶ τοῖς ξυμμάχοις τὸν μὲν Ἰνδικὸν κόλπον ξύρρουν ὄντα τῷ Περσικῷ, τὴν δὲ Ὑρκανίαν τῷ Ἰνδικῷ, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Περσικοῦ εἰς Λιβύην περιπλευσθήσεται στόλῳ ἡμετέρῳ τὰ μέχρι Ἡρακλέους Στηλῶν· ἀπὸ δὲ Στηλῶν ἡ ἐντὸς Λιβύη πᾶσα ἡμετέρα γίγνεται, καὶ ἡ Ἀσία δὴ οὕτω πᾶσα, καὶ ὅροι τῆς ταύτῃ ἀρχῆς οὕσπερ καὶ τῆς γῆς
3 ὅρους ὁ θεὸς ἐποίησε. Νῦν δὲ δὴ ἀποτρεπομένων πολλὰ μὲν μάχιμα ὑπολείπεται γένη ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα τοῦ Ὑφάσιος ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν ἑῴαν θάλασσαν, πολλὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτων ἔτι ἐπὶ τὴν Ὑρκανίαν ὡς ἐπὶ βορρᾶν ἄνεμον, καὶ τὰ Σκυθικὰ γένη οὐ πόρρω τούτων, ὥστε δέος μὴ ἀπελθόντων ὀπίσω καὶ τὰ νῦν κατεχόμενα οὐ βέβαια ὄντα ἐπαρθῇ
4 πρὸς ἀπόστασιν πρὸς τῶν μήπω ἐχομένων. Καὶ τότε δὴ ἀνόνητοι ἡμῖν ἔσονται οἱ πολλοὶ πόνοι ἢ ἄλλων αὖθις ἐξ ἀρχῆς δεήσει πόνων τε καὶ κινδύνων. Ἀλλὰ παραμείνατε, ἄνδρες Μακεδόνες καὶ ξύμμαχοι. Πονούντων τοι καὶ κινδυνευόντων τὰ καλὰ ἔργα· καὶ ζῆν τε ξὺν ἀρετῇ ἡδὺ καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν κλέος ἀθάνατον ὑπολειπομένους.

warfare, I may tell him that there remains no great stretch of land before us up to the river Ganges and the eastern sea. This sea, I assure you, you will find that the Hyrcanian Sea joins; for the great sea of ocean circles round the entire earth. Yes, and I shall moreover make clear to Macedonians and allies alike that the Indian gulf forms but one stretch of water with the Persian gulf, and the Hyrcanian Sea with the Indian gulf. And from the Persian gulf our fleet shall sail round to Libya,[1] right up to the Pillars of Heracles; and from the Pillars all Libya that lies within[2] is becoming ours; and all Asia likewise, and the boundaries of the empire in Asia, those boundaries which God set for the whole earth. But if you flinch now, there will be many warlike races left behind on the far side of the Hyphasis up to the Eastern Sea, and many too stretching from these to the Hyrcanian Sea towards the north wind, and not far from these, again, the Scythian tribes, so that there is reason to fear that if we turn back now, such territory as we now hold, being yet unconsolidated, may be stirred to revolt by such as we do not yet hold. Then in very truth there will be no profit from our many labours; or we shall need once more, from the very beginning, more dangers and more labours. But, do you abide constant, Macedonians and allies. It is those who endure toil and who dare dangers that achieve glorious deeds; and it is a lovely thing to live with courage, and to die, leaving behind an everlasting

[1] Africa is regarded as part of Asia. On these seas, and the ideas held by early geographers, see Cary and Warmington, *Ancient Explorers*, Methuen.

[2] *i.e.* all known Africa, lying between Gibraltar and Egypt.

5 Ἢ οὐκ ἴστε ὅτι ὁ πρόγονος ὁ ἡμέτερος οὐκ ἐν Τίρυνθι οὐδ' ἐν Ἄργει, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ἢ Θήβαις μένων ἐς τοσόνδε κλέος ἦλθεν ὡς θεὸς ἐξ ἀνθρώπου γενέσθαι ἢ δοκεῖν; οὐ μὲν οὖν δὴ οὐδὲ Διονύσου, ἀκροτέρου[1] τούτου θεοῦ ἢ καθ' Ἡρακλέα, ὀλίγοι πόνοι. Ἀλλὰ ἡμεῖς γε καὶ ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα τῆς Νύσης ἀφίγμεθα καὶ ἡ Ἄορνος πέτρα ἡ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ἀνάλωτος πρὸς ἡμῶν ἔχεται.
6 Ὑμεῖς δὲ καὶ τὰ ἔτι ὑπόλοιπα τῆς Ἀσίας πρόσθετε τοῖς ἤδη κεκτημένοις καὶ τὰ ὀλίγα τοῖς πολλοῖς. Ἐπεὶ καὶ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς τί ἂν μέγα καὶ καλὸν κατεπέπρακτο, εἰ ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ καθήμενοι ἱκανὸν ἐποιούμεθα ἀπόνως τὴν οἰκείαν διασῴζειν, Θρᾷκας τοὺς ὁμόρους ἢ Ἰλλυριοὺς ἢ Τριβαλλοὺς ἢ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὅσοι οὐκ ἐπιτήδειοι ἐς τὰ ἡμέτερα ἀναστέλλοντες;

7 "Εἰ μὲν δὴ ὑμᾶς πονοῦντας καὶ κινδυνεύοντας αὐτὸς ἀπόνως καὶ ἀκινδύνως ἐξηγούμενος ἦγον, οὐκ ἀπεικότως ἂν προεκάμνετε ταῖς γνώμαις, τῶν μὲν πόνων μόνοις ὑμῖν μετόν, τὰ δὲ ἆθλα αὐτῶν ἄλλοις περιποιοῦντες· νῦν δὲ κοινοὶ μὲν ἡμῖν οἱ πόνοι, ἴσον δὲ μέτεστι τῶν κινδύνων, τὰ δὲ ἆθλα
8 ἐν μέσῳ κεῖται ξύμπασιν· ἥ τε γὰρ χώρα ὑμετέρα καὶ ὑμεῖς αὐτῆς σατραπεύετε· καὶ τῶν χρημάτων τὸ μέρος νῦν τε ἐς ὑμᾶς τὸ πολὺ ἔρχεται καὶ ἐπειδὰν ἐπεξέλθωμεν τὴν Ἀσίαν, τότε οὐκ ἐμπλήσας μὰ Δί' ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπερβαλὼν ὅσα ἕκαστος ἐλπίζει ἀγαθὰ ἔσεσθαι τοὺς μὲν ἀπιέναι οἴκαδε ἐθέλοντας εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπο-

[1] ἀβροτέρου, Roos; but Heracles was not ἀβρός. The idea seems to be that D. was a "full-blown" deity, H. only a demi-god.

renown. Or do you not know that our forefather[1] would never have risen to such heights of glory by remaining in Tiryns or in Argos, nay, not even in the Peloponnese or Thebes, as to become, and to be held to be, a god, who was aforetime a man? Nay, even Dionysus, a god of higher rank than Heracles, braved labours not a few; but we have actually passed beyond Nysa, and the rock Aornos, which Heracles could not take, we have taken. Add now to the possessions you have already won what yet remains of Asia; to the many, add the few. For indeed what great or noble thing could we ourselves have achieved, had we sat still in Macedonia and thought it as enough to guard our own home without labour, merely reducing the Thracians on our borders, or Illyrians, or Triballians, or even such Greeks as are hostile to our interests.

"If then while you were bearing labours and braving dangers I had led you, myself, your leader, without labours and without dangers, you would not unnaturally have become weary in your hearts; when you alone had all the labours, and were procuring the prizes thereof for others; but it is not so; our labours are shared in common; we bear an equal part in dangers; the prizes are open to all. For the land is yours; it is you who are its viceroys; the greater part of the treasure comes to you, and when we master all Asia, then—by Heaven! —I will not merely satisfy you, but will surpass the utmost hope of good things for each of you, I will send home all who desire to go home or will myself

[1] Heracles.

πέμψω ἢ ἐπανάξω αὐτός· τοὺς δὲ αὐτοῦ μένοντας ζηλωτοὺς τοῖς ἀπερχομένοις ποιήσω."

XXVII. Ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα εἰπόντος Ἀλεξάνδρου πολὺν μὲν χρόνον σιωπὴ ἦν οὔτε ἀντιλέγειν τολμώντων πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος οὔτε ξυγχωρεῖν ἐθελόντων. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ πολλάκις μὲν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκέλευε λέγειν τὸν βουλόμενον, εἰ δή τις τὰ ἐναντία τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λεχθεῖσι γιγνώσκει· ἔμενε δὲ καὶ ὣς ἐπὶ πολὺ ἡ σιωπή· ὀψὲ δέ ποτε θαρσήσας Κοῖνος ὁ Πολεμοκράτους ἔλεξε τοιάδε.

2 "'Ἐπειδὴ αὐτός, ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὐ κατὰ πρόσταγμα ἐθέλεις Μακεδόνων ἐξηγεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ πείσας μὲν ἄξειν φῄς, πεισθεὶς δὲ οὐ βιάσεσθαι, οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τῶνδε ποιήσομαι ἐγὼ τοὺς λόγους, οἳ καὶ προτιμώμενοι τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τὰ ἆθλα τῶν πόνων οἱ πολλοὶ ἤδη κεκομισμένοι καὶ τῷ κρατιστεύειν παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους πρόθυμοί σοι ἐς πάντα ἐσμέν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς στρατιᾶς τῆς
3 πολλῆς. Οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ ταύτης τὰ καθ' ἡδονὴν ἐκείνοις ἐρῶ, ἀλλ' ἃ νομίζω ξύμφορά τέ σοι ἐς τὰ παρόντα καὶ ἐς τὰ μέλλοντα μάλιστα ἀσφαλῆ εἶναι. Δίκαιος δέ εἰμι καθ' ἡλικίαν τε μὴ ἀποκρύπτεσθαι τὰ δοκοῦντα βέλτιστα καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐκ σοῦ μοι οὖσαν ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀξίωσιν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πόνοις τε καὶ κινδύνοις ἐς τόδε
4 ἀπροφάσιστον τόλμαν. Ὅσῳ γάρ τοι πλεῖστα καὶ μέγιστά σοί τε ἡγουμένῳ καταπέπρακται καὶ τοῖς ἅμα σοὶ οἴκοθεν ὁρμηθεῖσι, τοσῷδε μᾶλλόν τι ξύμφορόν μοι δοκεῖ πέρας τι ἐπιθεῖναι τοῖς

lead them back; those who stay, I shall make to be envied by those who go back."

XXVII. To this effect, and in this manner, spoke Alexander; and for a long time there was silence; no one dared to oppose the King on the spur of the moment, nor was yet willing to agree. But in this interval Alexander often invited any to speak who wished to speak, if he really held opposite views to those he had expressed; yet even so silence reigned long, and only after some time Coenus, Polemocrates' son, plucked up his courage and spoke thus:

"Seeing that you, sir, do not yourself desire to command the Macedonians tyrannically, but expressly state that you will lead them on only by gaining their approval, and failing this you will not compel them, I shall not speak these words on behalf of us here present, who, being held in honour beyond the rest, have, most of us, already received the prizes of our labours, and in virtue of our authority, because we have power, are in all things heartily ready beyond others to forward your interests; rather I shall speak for most of the army. And even on their behalf I shall not say merely what is pleasing to them, but what I consider useful to yourself for the moment and safest for the future. In virtue of my age it is proper that I should not conceal such views as appear best, and also in virtue of my repute among my comrades, which comes from you, and of my undisputed courage in all labours and dangers hitherto. For just because very many and very great achievements have been wrought by yourself our leader, and by those who set out from home with you, just for that reason I judge it the more expedient to set some limit to

πόνοις τε καὶ κινδύνοις. Αὐτὸς γάρ τοι ὁρᾷς
ὅσοι μὲν Μακεδόνων τε καὶ Ἑλλήνων ἅμα σοὶ
5 ὡρμήθημεν, ὅσοι δὲ ὑπολελείμμεθα· ὧν Θετταλοὺς
μὲν ἀπὸ Βάκτρων εὐθύς, οὐ προθύμους ἔτι
ἐς τοὺς πόνους αἰσθόμενος, οἴκαδε, καλῶς ποιῶν,
ἀπέπεμψας· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων οἱ μὲν ταῖς
πόλεσι ταῖς πρὸς σοῦ οἰκισθείσαις κατῳκισμένοι
οὐδ' οὗτοι πάντη ἑκόντες μένουσιν· οἱ δέ, ξυμπονοῦντές
τε ἔτι καὶ ξυγκινδυνεύοντες αὐτοί τε καὶ
ἡ Μακεδονικὴ στρατιά, τοὺς μὲν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις
ἀπολωλέκασιν, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων ἀπόμαχοι
γεγενημένοι ἄλλοι ἄλλῃ τῆς Ἀσίας ὑπολελειμμένοι
6 εἰσίν· οἱ πλείους δὲ νόσῳ ἀπολώλασιν,
ὀλίγοι δὲ ἐκ πολλῶν ὑπολείπονται, καὶ οὔτε τοῖς
σώμασιν ἔτι ὡσαύτως ἐρρωμένοι, ταῖς τε γνώμαις
πολὺ ἔτι μᾶλλον προκεκμηκότες. Καὶ τούτοις
ξύμπασι πόθος μὲν γονέων ἐστίν, ὅσοις ἔτι
σῴζονται, πόθος δὲ γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων, πόθος
δὲ δὴ τῆς γῆς αὐτῆς τῆς οἰκείας, ἣν ξὺν τῷ ἐκ
σοῦ πορισθέντι σφίσι κόσμῳ, μεγάλοι τε ἀντὶ
μικρῶν καὶ πλούσιοι ἐκ πενήτων ἀναστρέφοντες,
7 ξύγγνωστοί εἰσιν ἐπιδεῖν ποθοῦντες. Σὺ δὲ νῦν
μὴ ἄγειν ἄκοντας· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁμοίοις ἔτι χρήσῃ ἐς
τοὺς κινδύνους, οἷς τὸ ἑκούσιον ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν
ἀπέσται· ἐπανελθὼν δὲ αὐτός τε, εἰ δοκεῖ, ἐς
τὴν οἰκείαν καὶ τὴν μητέρα τὴν σαυτοῦ ἰδὼν καὶ
τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καταστησάμενος καὶ τὰς νίκας
ταύτας τὰς πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ἐς τὸν πατρῷον
οἶκον κομίσας, οὕτω δὴ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἄλλον στόλον
στέλλεσθαι, εἰ μὲν βούλει, ἐπ' αὐτὰ ταῦτα τὰ
πρὸς τὴν ἕω ᾠκισμένα Ἰνδῶν γένη· εἰ δὲ βούλει,
ἐς τὸν Εὔξεινον πόντον· εἰ δέ, ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα καὶ

these labours and these dangers. For you yourself see what a large body of Macedonians and Greeks we are who set forth with you, and how many we are who are now left; the Thessalians you sent home straight from Bactria, perceiving that they had little heart for labours; and you did well. But of the rest of the Greeks, some have been settled in the cities which you have founded; and they do not all remain there willingly; others, sharing with you labours and dangers, both they and the Macedonian forces, have lost part of their number in battle; and part have become invalided from wounds, and have been left behind, some here, some there, in Asia; but most of them have died of sickness, and of all that host only a few are left, and even they no longer with their old bodily strength, and with their spirit even more wearied. These, one and all, have longing for parents, if they yet survive, longing for wives and children, longing even for their homeland, which they may pardonably long to revisit, with the treasure received from you, returning as great men, instead of little, and rich men instead of poor. But do not be a leader of unwilling troops. You will not find them like-minded towards dangers, when in their efforts no spirit of willingness will remain; rather do you yourself, if so it seems good, return to your own home, and revisit your own mother, and ordain the affairs of the Greeks, and bring back the guerdon of these many great victories to your ancestral house, and then, if so you desire, fit out another expedition, to attack these same Indian tribes that dwell towards the east; or if you prefer, to the Euxine sea; or else to Carchedon and the

8 τὰ ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα Καρχηδονίων τῆς Λιβύης. Ταῦτα δὲ σὸν ἤδη ἐξηγεῖσθαι. Ἕψονται δέ σοι ἄλλοι Μακεδόνες καὶ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες, νέοι τε ἀντὶ γερόντων καὶ ἀκμῆτες ἀντὶ κεκμηκότων, καὶ οἷς τὰ τοῦ πολέμου διὰ τὸ ἀπείρατον ἔς τε τὸ παραυτίκα οὐ φοβερὰ καὶ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐλπίδα ἐν σπουδῇ ἔσται· οὓς καὶ ταύτῃ ἔτι προθυμότερον ἀκολουθήσειν σοι εἰκός, ὁρῶντας τοὺς πρότερον ξυμπονήσαντάς τε καὶ ξυγκινδυνεύσαντας ἐς τὰ σφέτερα ἤθη ἐπανεληλυθότας, πλουσίους τε ἀντὶ πενήτων καὶ ἀντὶ ἀφανῶν τῶν
9 πάλαι εὐκλεεῖς. Καλὸν δέ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, εἴπερ τι καὶ ἄλλο, καὶ ἡ ἐν τῷ εὐτυχεῖν σωφροσύνη. Σοὶ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ ἡγουμένῳ καὶ στρατιὰν τοιαύτην ἄγοντι ἐκ μὲν πολεμίων δέος οὐδέν· τὰ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ δαιμονίου ἀδόκητά τε καὶ ταύτῃ καὶ ἀφύλακτα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐστί."

XXVIII. Τοιαῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ Κοίνου θόρυβον γενέσθαι ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις· πολλοῖς δὲ δὴ καὶ δάκρυα προχυθέντα ἔτι μᾶλλον δηλῶσαι τό τε ἀκούσιον τῆς γνώμης ἐς τοὺς πρόσω κινδύνους καὶ τὸ καθ' ἡδονήν σφισιν εἶναι τὴν ἀναχώρησιν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τότε μὲν ἀχθεσθεὶς τοῦ τε Κοίνου τῇ παρρησίᾳ καὶ τῷ ὄκνῳ τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμόνων διέλυσε τὸν ξύλλογον·
2 ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν ξυγκαλέσας αὖθις ξὺν ὀργῇ τοὺς αὐτοὺς αὐτὸς μὲν ἰέναι ἔφη τοῦ πρόσω, βιάσεσθαι δὲ οὐδένα ἄκοντα Μακεδόνων ξυνέπεσθαι· ἕξειν γὰρ τοὺς ἀκολουθήσοντας τῷ βασιλεῖ σφῶν ἑκόντας· τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἀπιέναι οἴκαδε ἐθέλουσιν ὑπάρχειν ἀπιέναι καὶ ἐξαγγέλλειν τοῖς οἰκείοις ὅτι τὸν βασιλέα σφῶν ἐν

parts of Libya beyond Carchedon. It is for you to take the lead in all this. There will follow you other Macedonians, other Greeks, young in place of old, fresh in place of wearied; men to whom warfare will have no terrors for the moment, for want of experience of war, and will inspire their eagerness from their hopes of the future, men who therefore will follow you with even greater heartiness, seeing those who have borne labours and dared dangers before them returned safely to their own homes; rich, who once were poor, and famous, who once were nameless. A noble thing, O King, above all others, is the spirit of self-restraint when all goes well with us. For you indeed, as our leader, and as commander of such an army, there is no fear from any enemies; but to all men the stroke of fortune comes unlooked for, and thence unguarded."

XXVIII. At the close of Coenus' speech there was some applause among the bystanders, many even shed tears, a proof, if it were needed, of the reluctance of their feelings towards further progress, and of the joy with which they would hail a retreat. But Alexander, irritated at Coenus' freedom of language and at the want of courage of the other officers, dismissed the conference; and calling for next day the same officers once more he angrily affirmed that he himself was going on, but that he would compel no Macedonian, against his will, to go with him; for he would have, he said, others who would, of free will, follow their King. As for those who wished to return home, they might do so, and might tell abroad to their friends that they

μέσοις τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπανήκουσιν ἀπολιπόντες.
3 Ταῦτα εἰπόντα ἀπελθεῖν ἐς τὴν σκηνήν, μηδέ τινα τῶν ἑταίρων προσέσθαι αὐτῆς τε ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ ἐς τὴν τρίτην ἔτι ἀπ' ἐκείνης, ὑπομένοντα εἰ δή τις τροπὴ ταῖς γνώμαις τῶν Μακεδόνων τε καὶ ξυμμάχων, οἷα δὴ ἐν ὄχλῳ στρατιωτῶν τὰ πολλὰ φιλεῖ γίγνεσθαι, ἐμπεσοῦσα
4 εὐπειθεστέρους παρέξει αὐτούς. Ὡς δὲ σιγὴ αὖ πολλὴ ἦν ἀνὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἀχθόμενοι μὲν τῇ ὀργῇ αὐτοῦ δῆλοι ἦσαν, οὐ μὴν μεταβαλλόμενοί γε ὑπ' αὐτῆς, ἐνταῦθα δὴ λέγει Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου ὅτι ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει οὐδὲν μεῖον ἐθύετο, θυομένῳ δὲ οὐκ ἐγίγνετο αὐτῷ τὰ ἱερά. Τότε δὴ τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους τε τῶν ἑταίρων καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους αὐτῷ συναγαγών, ὡς πάντα ἐς τὴν ὀπίσω ἀναχώρησιν αὐτῷ ἔφερεν, ἐκφαίνει ἐς τὴν στρατιὰν ὅτι ἔγνωσται ὀπίσω ἀποστρέφειν.

XXIX. Οἱ δὲ ἐβόων τε οἷα ἂν ὄχλος ξυμμιγὴς χαίρων βοήσειε καὶ ἐδάκρυον οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν· οἱ δὲ καὶ τῇ σκηνῇ τῇ βασιλικῇ πελάζοντες εὔχοντο Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθά, ὅτι πρὸς σφῶν μόνων νικηθῆναι ἠνέσχετο. Ἔνθα δὴ διελὼν κατὰ τάξεις τὴν στρατιὰν δώδεκα βωμοὺς κατασκευάζειν προστάττει, ὕψος μὲν κατὰ τοὺς μεγίστους πύργους, εὖρος δὲ μείζονας ἔτι ἢ κατὰ πύργους, χαριστήρια τοῖς θεοῖς τοῖς ἐς τοσόνδε ἀγαγοῦσιν αὐτὸν νικῶντα καὶ μνημεῖα τῶν αὐτοῦ
2 πόνων. Ὡς δὲ κατεσκευασμένοι αὐτῷ οἱ βωμοὶ ἦσαν, θύει δὴ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ὡς νόμος καὶ ἀγῶνα ποιεῖ γυμνικόν τε καὶ ἱππικόν. Καὶ τὴν μὲν χώραν τὴν μέχρι τοῦ Ὑφάσιος ποταμοῦ Πώρῳ

had come back, leaving their King surrounded by foes. With this he went back to his tent, and did not admit even any of the Companions during that day and till the third day after, waiting to see if the Macedonians and allies might change their minds, as often happens in a crowd of soldiers, and such change coming over them might render them more amenable. But when there continued dead silence through the camp, and it was clear that the men were annoyed at his temper, but in no mood to change their minds because of it, then, Ptolemaeus son of Lagus tells us, he none the less offered sacrifices with a view to crossing the river. But as he sacrificed, the victims proved unfavourable. Then he called together the eldest of the Companions and chiefly his particular friends, and since everything now was pointing to a withdrawal, he proclaimed openly to the army that he had decided to turn back.

XXIX. At this they all cried aloud as a mixed multitude would shout in joy, and most of them began to weep; others drew near the royal tent and invoked blessings on Alexander, since he had allowed himself to be defeated by them, and none others. Then he divided the army into twelve parts and ordered an altar to be set up for each part, in height like to the greatest towers, and in breadth greater even than towers would be, as thank-offerings to the gods who had brought him so far victorious, and as memorials of his labours. And when the altars were made ready, he sacrificed upon them, according to custom, and held a contest of athletics and cavalry exercises. All the territory as far as the Hyphasis he gave also to Porus to rule over, and

ἄρχειν προσέθηκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ὑδραώτην ἀνέστρεφε. Διαβὰς δὲ τὸν Ὑδραώτην, ἐπὶ τὸν
3 Ἀκεσίνην αὖ ἐπανῄει ὀπίσω. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα καταλαμβάνει τὴν πόλιν ἐξῳκοδομημένην ἥντινα Ἡφαιστίων αὐτῷ ἐκτειχίσαι ἐτάχθη· καὶ ἐς ταύτην ξυνοικίσας τῶν τε προσχώρων ὅσοι ἐθελονταὶ κατῳκίζοντο καὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων ὅ τιπερ ἀπόμαχον, αὐτὸς τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ κατάπλῳ παρεσκευάζετο τῷ ἐς τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν.

4 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἀφίκοντο πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀρσάκης τε ὁ τῆς ὁμόρου Ἀβισάρῃ χώρας ὕπαρχος καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἀβισάρου καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἰκεῖοι, δῶρά τε κομίζοντες ἃ μέγιστα παρ' Ἰνδοῖς καὶ τοὺς παρ' Ἀβισάρου ἐλέφαντας, ἐς τριάκοντα τὸν ἀριθμόν· Ἀβισάρην γὰρ νόσῳ ἀδύνατον γενέσθαι ἐλθεῖν. Συνέβαινον δὲ τούτοις καὶ οἱ παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου
5 ἐκπεμφθέντες πρέσβεις πρὸς Ἀβισάρην. Καὶ ταῦτα οὐ χαλεπῶς πιστεύσας οὕτως ἔχειν Ἀβισάρῃ τε τῆς αὐτοῦ χώρας σατραπεύειν ἔδωκε καὶ Ἀρσάκην τῇ Ἀβισάρου ἐπικρατείᾳ προσέθηκε· καὶ φόρους οὕστινας ἀποίσουσι τάξας θύει αὖ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀκεσίνῃ ποταμῷ. Καὶ τὸν Ἀκεσίνην αὖ διαβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν Ὑδάσπην ἧκεν, ἵνα καὶ τῶν πόλεων τῆς τε Νικαίας καὶ τῶν Βουκεφάλων ὅσα πρὸς τῶν ὄμβρων πεπονηκότα ἦν ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐπεσκεύασε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐκόσμει.

then he himself began to return towards the Hydraotes. Crossing this, he came again to the Acesines, and there he found the city already built which Hephaestion had been appointed by him to fortify; into this he settled any of the neighbouring tribesmen who volunteered, and such of the mercenaries as were no longer fit for service, and himself made preparations for the voyage down to the Great Sea.

Meantime there came to him Arsaces the governor of the territory next to Abisares, with Abisares' brother, and his other relatives, bringing gifts, such as the Indians account of chief value, and the elephants from Abisares, up to the number of thirty; for Abisares himself had been unable, through illness, to attend. There came also with these the envoys sent by Alexander to Abisares. Thus, being easily assured that the facts were as stated, he gave to Abisares the governorship of his own province, and attached Arsaces to the administration of Abisares; and having arranged for the tributes they should pay he sacrificed also at the river Acesines. Then crossing the Acesines he came to the Hydaspes, where he restored, by help of his troops, the parts of the cities of Nicaea and Bucephala which had been damaged by rains, and also put all else in order in the province,

BOOK VI

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΕΚΤΟΝ

I. Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, ἐπειδὴ παρεσκευάσθησαν
αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ὑδάσπου ταῖς ὄχθαις πολλαὶ μὲν
τριακόντοροι καὶ ἡμιόλιαι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἱππα-
γωγὰ πλοῖα καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα ἐς παρακομιδὴν
στρατιᾶς ποταμῷ εὔπορα, ἔγνω καταπλεῖν κατὰ
τὸν Ὑδάσπην ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν.
2 Πρότερον μέν γε ἐν τῷ Ἰνδῷ ποταμῷ κροκοδείλους
ἰδών, μόνῳ τῶν ἄλλων ποταμῶν πλὴν Νείλου,
πρὸς δὲ ταῖς ὄχθαις τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου κυάμους
πεφυκότας ὁποίους ἡ γῆ ἐκφέρει ἡ Αἰγυπτία, καὶ
ἀκούσας ὅτι ὁ Ἀκεσίνης ἐμβάλλει εἰς τὸν Ἰνδόν,
3 ἔδοξεν ἐξευρηκέναι τοῦ Νείλου τὰς ἀρχάς, ὡς τὸν
Νεῖλον ἐνθένδε ποθὲν ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἀνίσχοντα καὶ δι'
ἐρήμου πολλῆς γῆς ῥέοντα καὶ ταύτῃ ἀπολλύοντα
τὸν Ἰνδὸν τὸ ὄνομα, ἔπειτα ὁπόθεν ἄρχεται διὰ
τῆς οἰκουμένης χώρας ῥεῖν Νεῖλον ἤδη πρὸς
Αἰθιόπων τε τῶν ταύτῃ καὶ Αἰγυπτίων καλού-
μενον, ὡς Ὅμηρος ἐποίησεν ἐπώνυμον τῆς
Αἰγύπτου Αἴγυπτον, οὕτω δὴ ἐκδιδόναι ἐς τὴν
4 ἐντὸς θάλασσαν. Καὶ δὴ καὶ πρὸς Ὀλυμπιάδα
γράφοντα ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἰνδῶν τῆς γῆς ἄλλα τε
γράψαι καὶ ὅτι δοκοίη αὐτῷ ἐξευρηκέναι τοῦ
Νείλου τὰς πηγάς, μικροῖς δή τισι καὶ φαύλοις

---

[1] Literally, of one-and-a-half banks of oars. Presumably a ship might be double-banked amidships and single-banked

BOOK VI

I. Since Alexander had all ready for him on the banks of the Hydaspes a good many thirty-oars and smaller galleys,[1] and several transports for horses and other vessels useful for the conveyance of an army by river, he determined to sail down the Hydaspes to the Great Sea. He had already seen crocodiles in the Indus, and in no other river except the Nile;[2] and besides this had observed on the banks of the Acesines beans growing,[3] of the same sort as the land of Egypt produces; and having heard that the Acesines runs into the Indus, he fancied that he had found the origin of the Nile. His idea was that the Nile rose somewhere thereabouts in India, flowed through a great expanse of desert, and there lost its name of Indus; and then, where it began to flow through civilized country, was now called Nile by the Ethiopians in those parts and the Egyptians, as Homer, in his epic, called it Egyptus after Egypt; and so finally ran out into the Inland Sea. Nay, when writing to Olympias about the country of India, Alexander among other things stated that he thought he had discovered the springs of the Nile; drawing a conclusion about matters of

fore and aft. But it seems likely that these descriptive names are not to be taken literally, but had come, by custom, to designate the size of the ships, without implying the actual number of tiers of rowers.

[2] There are crocodiles also in the Ganges.

[3] Said to be *Nelumbium speciorum*, the Indian lotus.

5 ὑπὲρ τῶν τηλικούτων τεκμαιρόμενον. Ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἀτρεκέστερον ἐξήλεγξε τὰ ἀμφὶ τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ Ἰνδῷ, οὕτω δὴ μαθεῖν παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τὸν μὲν Ὑδάσπην τῷ Ἀκεσίνῃ, τὸν Ἀκεσίνην δὲ τῷ Ἰνδῷ τό τε ὕδωρ ξυμβάλλοντας καὶ τῷ ὀνόματι ξυγχωροῦντας, τὸν Ἰνδὸν δὲ ἐκδιδόντα ἤδη ἐς τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν, δίστομον τὸν Ἰνδὸν ὄντα, οὐδέν τι αὐτῷ προσῆκον τῆς γῆς τῆς Αἰγυπτίας, τηνικαῦτα δὲ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τῆς πρὸς τὴν μητέρα τοῦτο τὸ ἀμφὶ τῷ Νείλῳ
6 γραφὲν ἀφελεῖν. Καὶ τὸν κατάπλουν τὸν κατὰ τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν ἐπινοοῦντα παρασκευασθῆναί οἱ ἐπὶ τῷδε κελεῦσαι τὰς ναῦς. Αἱ δὲ ὑπηρεσίαι αὐτῷ ἐς τὰς ναῦς ξυνεπληρώθησαν ἐκ τῶν ξυνεπομένων τῇ στρατιᾷ Φοινίκων καὶ Κυπρίων καὶ Καρῶν καὶ Αἰγυπτίων.

II. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Κοῖνος μέν, ἐν τοῖς πιστοτάτοις Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὢν τῶν ἑταίρων, νόσῳ τελευτᾷ· καὶ τοῦτον θάπτει ἐκ τῶν παρόντων μεγαλοπρεπῶς. Αὐτὸς δὲ ξυναγαγὼν τούς τε ἑταίρους καὶ ὅσοι Ἰνδῶν πρέσβεις παρ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀφιγμένοι ἦσαν, βασιλέα μὲν τῆς ἑαλωκυίας ἤδη Ἰνδῶν γῆς ἀπέδειξε Πῶρον ἑπτὰ μὲν ἐθνῶν τῶν ξυμπάντων, πόλεων δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ὑπὲρ τὰς δισχιλίας.
2 Τὴν στρατιὰν δὲ διένειμεν ὧδε. Αὐτὸς μὲν τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς τε ἅμα οἱ ξύμπαντας ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἀνεβίβασε καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τὸ ἄγημα τῶν ἱππέων. Κράτερος δὲ αὐτῷ μοῖράν τε τῶν πεζῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων παρὰ τὴν ὄχθην τοῦ Ὑδάσπου τὴν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἦγε· κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἑτέραν ὄχθην τὸ πλεῖστόν τε καὶ κράτιστον τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας Ἡφαιστίων

so much importance from very slender indications. But when he had more accurately investigated the geography of the river Indus, he learnt from the inhabitants that the Hydaspes joins its stream to the Acesines, and the Acesines to the Indus, and both there resign their names; but that the Indus then flows out into the Great Ocean, by two mouths; and that the Indus has nothing whatever to do with Egypt. On this he cancelled the part of the letter to his mother which dealt with the Nile. Then, with the idea of sailing down the rivers to the ocean, he caused the boats to be made ready for him for this purpose. The crews of his boats were made up from the Phoenicians, Cyprians, Carians and Egyptians who had accompanied the expedition.

II. At this time Coenus, one of the most trusty of the Companions of Alexander, died of illness. So far as could be done, Alexander gave him a magnificent funeral. Then, calling together the Companions and such Indian envoys as had come to visit him, he proclaimed Porus King of so much of India as he had captured up to that time, that is, of seven nations in all, and of cities in these nations more than two thousand in number. The army he then divided as follows; he embarked on the ships with him all the bodyguard, the archers, the Agrianes, and the special squadron of cavalry. Craterus led along the right bank of the Hydaspes a division of the infantry and the cavalry. Along the other bank Hephaestion advanced, leading the greatest and strongest part of the army and the

προὐχώρει ἄγων, ἤδη ὄντας ἐς διακοσίους· τούτοις δὲ ἦν παρηγγελμένον ὡς τάχιστα ἄγειν
3 ἵναπερ τὰ Σωπείθου βασίλεια· Φιλίππῳ δὲ τῷ σατράπῃ τῆς ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ὡς ἐπὶ Βακτρίους γῆς διαλιπόντι τρεῖς ἡμέρας παρήγγελτο ἕπεσθαι ξὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτόν. Τοὺς ἱππέας δὲ τοὺς Νυσαίους ὀπίσω ἀποπέμπει ἐς τὴν Νύσαν. Τοῦ μὲν δὴ ναυτικοῦ παντὸς Νέαρχος αὐτῷ ἐξηγεῖτο, τῆς δὲ αὐτοῦ νεὼς κυβερνήτης Ὀνησίκριτος, ὃς ἐν τῇ ξυγγραφῇ ἥντινα ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάνδρου ξυνέγραψε καὶ τοῦτο ἐψεύσατο, ναύαρχον ἑαυτὸν εἶναι γράψας, κυβερ-
4 νήτην ὄντα. Ἦν δὲ τὸ ξύμπαν πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν, ὡς λέγει Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου, ᾧ μάλιστα ἐγὼ ἕπομαι, τριακόντοροι μὲν ἐς ὀγδοήκοντα· τὰ δὲ πάντα πλοῖα σὺν τοῖς ἱππαγωγοῖς καὶ κερκούροις καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ποτάμια ἢ τῶν πάλαι πλεόντων κατὰ τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἢ ἐν τῷ τότε ποιηθέντων οὐ πολὺ ἀποδέοντα τῶν δισχιλίων.

III. Ὡς δὲ ξύμπαντα αὐτῷ παρεσκεύαστο, ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω ὁ μὲν στρατὸς ἐπέβαινε τῶν νεῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἔθυε τοῖς θεοῖς ὡς νόμος καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ Ὑδάσπῃ ὅπως οἱ μάντεις ἐξηγοῦντο. Καὶ ἐπιβὰς τῆς νεὼς ἀπὸ τῆς πρῴρας ἐκ χρυσῆς φιάλης ἔσπενδεν ἐς τὸν ποταμόν, τόν τε Ἀκεσίνην ξυνεπικαλούμενος τῷ Ὑδάσπῃ, ὅντινα μέγιστον αὖ τῶν ἄλλων ποταμῶν ξυμβάλλειν τῷ Ὑδάσπῃ ἐπέπυστο καὶ οὐ πόρρω αὐτῶν εἶναι τὰς ξυμβολάς, καὶ τὸν Ἰνδόν, ἐς ὅντινα ὁ Ἀκεσίνης ξὺν
2 τῷ Ὑδάσπῃ ἐμβάλλει. Ἐπεὶ[1] δὲ Ἡρακλεῖ τε

[1] ἐπὶ A, and conjectured also by Sintenis. There seems to be a slight anacoluthon.

elephants, of which there were now some two hundred; this force was under orders to make at full speed for the palace of Sopeithes. Philip the satrap of the country west of the Indus, towards Bactria, had orders also to wait three days and then follow with his forces. The cavalry of Nysa he sent back there. Nearchus he appointed admiral of all the fleet, and the pilot of his own vessel was Onesicritus, who in the history he wrote of Alexander told this falsehood among others, that he was admiral, though a mere pilot. The entire number of ships, according to Ptolemaeus son of Lagus, whom I chiefly follow, was eighty ships of thirty oars, and the entire number of boats with the horse-transports, the light galleys, and any other river craft that had either been long plying on the rivers or that had been then constructed, came to nearly two thousand.

III. Then, when everything had been got ready, at dawn the army began its embarkation, and Alexander sacrificed to the gods according to his custom, and to the river Hydaspes according to the instructions of the seers. Then himself embarking he poured a libation into the river out of a golden bowl from the bows, calling upon the Acesines together with the Hydaspes, since he had learned that it is the greatest of all the tributaries of the Hydaspes, and also that the meeting of the waters was not far away; and he also called upon the Indus, into which, with the Hydaspes, the Acesines runs. And then when he had likewise poured a

τῷ προπάτορι σπείσας καὶ Ἄμμωνι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς ὅσοις αὐτῷ νόμος σημῆναι ἐς ἀναγωγὴν κελεύει τῇ σάλπιγγι. Ἅμα τε δὴ ἐσημάνθη καὶ ἀνήγοντο ἐν κόσμῳ. Παρήγγελτο γὰρ ἐφ᾽ ὅσον τε τὰ σκευοφόρα πλοῖα ἐχρῆν τετάχθαι καὶ ἐφ᾽ ὅσον τὰ ἱππαγωγά, ἐφ᾽ ὅσον τε τὰς μαχίμους τῶν νεῶν, ὡς μὴ συμπίπτειν ἀλλήλαις κατὰ τὸν πόρον εἰκῇ πλεούσας· καὶ ταῖς ταχυναυτούσαις φθάνειν οὐκ ἐφίετο ἔξω τῆς
3 τάξεως. Ἦν δὲ ὅ τε κτύπος τῆς εἰρεσίας οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ ἐοικώς, ἅτε ἀπὸ πολλῶν νεῶν ἐν ταὐτῷ ἐρεσσομένων, καὶ βοὴ ἀπό τε τῶν κελευστῶν ἐνδιδόντων τὰς ἀρχάς τε καὶ ἀναπαύλας τῆς εἰρεσίας, καὶ τῶν ἐρετῶν ὁπότε ἀθρόοι ἐμπίπτοντες τῷ ῥοθίῳ ἐπαλαλάξειαν· αἵ τε ὄχθαι, ὑψηλότεραι τῶν νεῶν πολλαχῇ οὖσαι, ἐς στενόν τε τὴν βοὴν ξυνάγουσαι καὶ τῇ ξυναγωγῇ αὐτῇ ἐπὶ μέγα ηὐξημένην ἐς ἀλλήλας ἀντέπεμπον· καί που καὶ νάπαι ἑκατέρωθεν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῇ τε ἐρημίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἀντιπέμψει τοῦ κτύπου καὶ αὗται
4 ξυνεπελάμβανον· οἵ τε ἵπποι διαφαινόμενοι διὰ τῶν ἱππαγωγῶν πλοίων, οὐ πρόσθεν ἵπποι ἐπὶ νεῶν ὀφθέντες ἐν τῇ Ἰνδῶν γῇ (καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὸν Διονύσου ἐπ᾽ Ἰνδοὺς στόλον οὐκ ἐμέμνηντο γενέσθαι ναυτικόν), ἔκπληξιν παρεῖχον τοῖς θεωμένοις τῶν βαρβάρων, ὥστε οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν αὐτόθεν τῇ ἀναγωγῇ παραγενόμενοι ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐφωμάρτουν·
5 ἐς ὅσους δὲ τῶν ἤδη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ προσκεχωρηκότων Ἰνδῶν ἡ βοὴ τῶν ἐρετῶν ἢ ὁ κτύπος τῆς εἰρεσίας ἐξίκετο, καὶ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τῇ ὄχθῃ κατέθεον καὶ ξυνείποντο ἐπᾴδοντες βαρβαρικῶς. Φιλῳδοὶ

libation to Heracles his ancestor and to Ammon and to the other gods to whom he usually made offering, he bade the bugle sound for departure. On the sound of the bugle they started in due order. For instructions had been given as to the exact distances apart for the baggage vessels, for the horse transports, and for the warships, so that they should not, by sailing irregularly, collide one with the other. Even those which sailed most swiftly were not permitted to break ranks. It was very remarkable to hear the sound of the rowing, when so large a fleet all began rowing at one and the same moment, and the calls of the boatswains giving the beginning and the pauses of each stroke, and the noise of the rowers, when all together they fell upon the swirling water and raised their rowers' chanties; the banks too, being often higher than the ships, enclosed the sound into a narrow funnel, and making it by this compression even more resonant, reverberated it from side to side. Glens also here and there on either side of the river by their emptiness and their re-echoings all helped the swelling of the sound. The horses, too, visible in the horse-transports—and no horses had hitherto been seen on shipboard in India (for the Indians had no recollection that the expedition of Dionysus also to India was by ship)—caused the utmost astonishment to the tribesmen who beheld them; so that those who were present at the departure of the fleet followed with it a long distance, and those Indians from among those who had submitted to Alexander, to whom the clamour of the oarsmen and the beat of the oars reached, came also running down to the bank and followed singing their own wild songs. For the Indians are

γάρ, εἴπερ τινὲς ἄλλοι, Ἰνδοὶ καὶ φιλορχήμονες[1] ἀπὸ Διονύσου ἔτι καὶ τῶν ἅμα Διονύσῳ βακχευσάντων κατὰ τὴν Ἰνδῶν γῆν.

IV. Οὕτω δὴ πλέων τρίτῃ γε ἡμέρᾳ κατέσχεν ἵναπερ Ἡφαιστίωνί τε καὶ Κρατέρῳ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ στρατοπεδεύειν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀντιπέραν ὄχθαις παρήγγελτο. Μείνας δὲ ἐνταῦθα ἡμέρας δύο, ὡς καὶ Φίλιππος αὐτῷ ξὺν τῇ λοιπῇ στρατιᾷ ἀφίκετο, τοῦτον μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀκεσίνην ποταμὸν ἐκπέμπει ξὺν οἷς ἔχων ἧκε, τάξας παρὰ τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου ποταμοῦ τὴν ὄχθην πορεύεσθαι· τοὺς δὲ ἀμφὶ Κρατερόν τε καὶ Ἡφαιστίωνα αὖθις ἐκπέμπει, παραγγείλας ὅπως χρὴ τὴν πορείαν
2 ποιεῖσθαι. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἔπλει κατὰ τὸν Ὑδάσπην ποταμόν, οὐδαμοῦ μείονα ἐν τῷ κατάπλῳ εἴκοσι σταδίων τὸ εὖρος. Προσορμιζόμενος δὲ ὅπῃ τύχοι ταῖς ὄχθαις τοὺς προσοικοῦντας τῷ Ὑδάσπῃ Ἰνδῶν τοὺς μὲν ἐνδιδόντας σφᾶς ὁμολογίαις κατελάμβανεν· ἤδη δέ τινας καὶ ἐς
3 ἀλκὴν χωρήσαντας βίᾳ κατεστρέψατο. Αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Μαλλῶν τε καὶ Ὀξυδρακῶν γῆν σπουδῇ ἔπλει, πλείστους τε καὶ μαχιμωτάτους τῶν ταύτῃ Ἰνδῶν πυνθανόμενος καὶ ὅτι ἐξηγγέλλοντο αὐτῷ παῖδας μὲν καὶ γυναῖκας ἀποτεθεῖσθαι ἐς τὰς ὀχυρωτάτας τῶν πόλεων, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐγνωκέναι διὰ μάχης ἰέναι πρὸς αὐτόν· ἐφ᾽ ὅτῳ δὴ καὶ σπουδῇ πλείονι ἐποιεῖτο τὸν πλοῦν, ὅπως μὴ καθεστηκόσιν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ ἐν τῷ ἐνδεεῖ τε ἔτι τῆς παρασκευῆς καὶ τεταραγμένῳ προσ-
4 φέρηται. Ἔνθεν δὲ ὡρμήθη τὸ δεύτερον, καὶ πέμπτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀφίκετο ἐπὶ τὴν ξυμβολὴν τοῦ

[1] φιλοσχήμονες A²B.

of all people most musical, and from the days of Dionysus down and of those who revelled with him in India are great lovers of the dance.

IV. Sailing thus, on the third day Alexander put in where orders had been given to Hephaestion and Craterus to camp at the same place but on opposite banks. There he stayed two days, and when Philippus joined him with the rest of the army, he sent him to the river Acesines with such troops as he had brought, bidding him march along the bank of the Acesines. The troops with Craterus and Hephaestion also he sent on again, giving them instructions as to their route. But he himself sailed on down the river Hydaspes, which never had a less breadth, during the descent, than twenty stades. Then putting in, wherever it was convenient, to the banks, he received in voluntary submission many of the Indians who lived near the Hydaspes; some, who had resisted, he had already subdued. But he sailed at full speed towards the district of the Mallians and the Oxydracae, learning that they were the most numerous and the most warlike of the Indians in these parts, and also because it was reported to him that they had removed their wives and children to the strongest of their cities, and were themselves determined to do battle with him; and for this reason he urged on his voyage with the greater speed, so that he might come upon them not ready for war, but still short of their preparations and in a state of confusion. And so he started again thence, and on the fifth day came to the meeting of

τε Ὑδάσπου καὶ τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου. Ἵνα δὲ ξυμβάλλουσιν οἱ ποταμοὶ οὗτοι, στενώτατος εἷς ποταμὸς ἐκ τοῖν δυοῖν γίγνεται καὶ τὸ ῥεῦμα αὐτῷ ὀξὺ ἐπὶ τῇ στενότητι καὶ δῖναι ἄτοποι ὑποστρέφοντος τοῦ ῥοῦ, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ κυμαίνεταί τε καὶ καχλάζει ἐπὶ μέγα, ὡς καὶ πόρρω ἔτι ὄντων
5 ἐξακούεσθαι τὸν κτύπον τοῦ κύματος. Καὶ ἦν μὲν προεξηγγελμένα ταῦτα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐκ τῶν ἐγχωρίων καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τῇ στρατιᾷ· ὅμως δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἐπέλαζεν αὐτῷ ταῖς ξυμβολαῖς ὁ στρατός, ἐς τοσόνδε ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ ῥοῦ κτύπος κατεῖχεν, ὥστε ἐπέστησαν τὰς εἰρεσίας οἱ ναῦται, οὐκ ἐκ παραγγέλματος, ἀλλὰ τῶν τε κελευστῶν ὑπὸ θαύματος ἐκσιωπησάντων καὶ αὐτοὶ μετέωροι πρὸς τὸν κτύπον γενόμενοι.

V. Ὡς δὲ οὐ πόρρω τῶν ξυμβολῶν ἦσαν, ἐνταῦθα δὴ οἱ κυβερνῆται παραγγέλλουσιν ὡς βιαιοτάτῃ εἰρεσίᾳ χρωμένους ἐξελαύνειν ἐκ τῶν στενῶν, τοῦ μὴ ἐμπιπτούσας τὰς ναῦς ἐς τὰς δίνας ἀναστρέφεσθαι πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ κρατεῖν γάρ[1] τῇ εἰρεσίᾳ τῶν ἐπιστροφῶν τοῦ ὕδατος.
2 Τὰ μὲν δὴ στρογγύλα πλοῖα ὅσα καὶ ἔτυχεν αὐτῶν περιστραφέντα πρὸς τοῦ ῥοῦ, οὐδέν τι παθόντα ἐν τῇ ἐπιστροφῇ, ὅτι μὴ συνταράξαντα τοὺς ἐμπλέοντας, κατέστη ἐς εὐθύ, πρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ ῥοῦ ὀρθωθέντα· αἱ δὲ μακραὶ νῆες οὐχ ὡσαύτως ἀπαθεῖς ἀπῆλθον ἐν τῇ ἐπιστροφῇ, οὔτε μετέωροι ἐπὶ τοῦ καχλάζοντος κύματος ὡσαύτως οὖσαι, ὅσαι τε δίκροτοι αὐτῶν τὰς κάτω κώπας οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἔξω ἔχουσαι τοῦ ὕδατος·
3 καὶ αἱ κῶπαι δὲ αὐτοῖς, πλαγίοις ἐν ταῖς δίναις

[1] γὰρ is difficult; query, καρτέρᾳ τῇ.

the Hydaspes and the Acesines. Where these rivers meet, from the two streams one very narrow stream results; its current is very rapid because of this narrowing, and from the swirling of the stream there are formed dreadful whirlpools; the water boils and dashes noisily, so that even from afar one can hear the tumult of the waves. All this had been told to Alexander beforehand by the inhabitants, and by him to his army; but yet when the army approached the meeting waters the noise of the rapids was so loud that the sailors stopped their rowing, not by order, but because the boatswains were struck dumb with amazement, and the sailors themselves were out of their wits from the tumult.

V. When, however, they drew near the meeting of the waters, then the steersmen bade them row as strenuously as possible and drive their vessels through the narrows, so that the ships might not be caught in the whirlpools and be capsized by them, but rather that they should by their rowing overcome the turmoil of the water. The rounder types of boats, which were twisted about by the stream, suffered nothing serious in this disturbance, except that they caused much anxiety to the crews; they kept a straight course, being in fact held to their direction by the current itself. The warships, however, did not come off so scathless in the turmoil; they did not ride so easily over the roaring waters; and those that had two tiers of oars hardly kept their lower tier clear of the stream. Moreover, their oars, when the boats were brought broadside on in

γενομένοις, συνετρίβοντο, ὅσων γε ἐγκατελήφθησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος οὐ φθασάντων αὐτὰς μετεωρίσαι, ὡς πολλὰς μὲν πονῆσαι τῶν νεῶν, δύο δὲ δὴ περιπεσούσας ἀλλήλαις αὐτάς τε διαφθαρῆναι καὶ τῶν ἐμπλεόντων ἐν αὐταῖς πολλούς. Ὡς δὲ ἐς πλάτος ἤδη ὁ ποταμὸς διέσχεν, ἐνταῦθα δὴ ὅ τε ῥοῦς οὐκέτι ὡσαύτως χαλεπὸς ἦν καὶ αἱ
4 δῖναι οὐχ ὁμοίᾳ τῇ βίᾳ ἐπέστρεφον. Προσορμίσας οὖν τῇ ἐν δεξιᾷ ὄχθῃ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος τὸν στρατόν, ἵνα σκέπη τε ἦν τοῦ ῥοῦ καὶ προσβολὴ ταῖς ναυσὶ καί τις καὶ ἄκρα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπιτηδείως ἀνεῖχεν ἔς τῶν ναυαγίων τε τὴν ξυναγωγὴν καὶ εἴ τινες ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν ζῶντες ἔτι ἐφέροντο, τούτους τε διέσωσε καὶ ἐπισκευάσας τὰς πεπονηκυίας τῶν νεῶν, Νέαρχον μὲν καταπλεῖν κελεύει ἔστ᾽ ἂν ἀφίκηται ἐπὶ τὰ ὅρια τοῦ Μαλλῶν ἔθνους· αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων τῶν οὐ προσχωρούντων καταδρομὴν τῆς χώρας ποιησάμενος καὶ κωλύσας ἐπικουρῆσαι αὐτοὺς τοῖς Μαλλοῖς, οὕτω δὴ αὖθις ξυνέμιξε τῷ ναυτικῷ.

5 Καὶ ἐνταῦθα Ἡφαιστίων τε αὐτῷ καὶ Κράτερος καὶ Φίλιππος ξὺν τοῖς ἀμφ᾽ αὐτοὺς ὁμοῦ ἤδη ἦσαν. Ὁ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐλέφαντας καὶ τὴν Πολυσπέρχοντος τάξιν καὶ τοὺς ἱπποτοξότας καὶ Φίλιππον ξὺν τῇ ἀμφ᾽ αὐτὸν στρατιᾷ διαβιβάσας [τὸν Ὑδάσπην ποταμὸν] Κρατέρῳ ἄγειν προσέταξε· Νέαρχον δὲ ξὺν τῷ ναυτικῷ πέμπει, τρισὶν ἡμέραις τὴν στρατιὰν κελεύσας φθάνειν κατὰ τὸν
6 πλοῦν. Τὸν δὲ ἄλλον στρατὸν τριχῇ διένειμε· καὶ Ἡφαιστίωνα μὲν πέντε ἡμέραις προϊέναι ἔταξεν, ὡς εἴ τινες τοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ τεταγμένους φεύγοντες ἐς τὸ πρόσω κατὰ σπουδὴν ἴοιεν, τοῖς

the swirling waters, were broken—of such, at any rate, as were actually caught by the rapids and did not raise their oars in time, so that many ships were in distress, and two collided with one another, and were themselves wrecked and many from their crews lost. When, however, the river broadened out, at last the stream no longer ran so roughly; and the eddies did not twist the ships about with so much violence. Alexander then bringing his army to land on the right bank—where there was shelter from the current and a landing place for the ships, and where a headland ran out into the river conveniently for the gathering in of the wrecked ships, and any of the crew still left alive on them—contrived to save these, and repaired the damaged ships; after this he bade Nearchus sail down till he reached the boundaries of the Mallian people; he himself made a hasty raid through the country of the tribesmen who had not submitted to him, and so prevented them from bringing help to the Mallians. On this he again joined the flotilla.

Here Hephaestion and Craterus and Philip with their troops joined him again. Alexander then took the elephants, and Polysperchon's brigade, and the mounted archers, and Philip with his force, across the river Hydaspes, and ordered Craterus to take command of them; Nearchus he sent with the fleet, ordering him to be three days in advance of the army in the descent of the river. The remaining forces he divided into three parts; Hephaestion he ordered to go on five days in advance, so that if any who had escaped from his own force were advancing rapidly into the country farther on, they

ἀμφ' Ἡφαιστίωνα ἐμπίπτοντες ἁλίσκωνται· Πτολεμαῖον δὲ τὸν Λάγου, δοὺς καὶ τούτῳ τῆς στρατιᾶς μέρος, τρισὶν ἡμέραις ὑπολειπόμενον ἕπεσθαι ἐκέλευσεν, ὡς ὅσοι τοὔμπαλιν ὑποστρέφοιεν αὐτὸν φεύγοντες, οὗτοι δὲ ἐς τοὺς ἀμφὶ
7 τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἐμπίπτοιεν. Ἐπὰν δὲ ἀφίκωνται ἐς τὰς ξυμβολὰς τοῦ τε Ἀκεσίνου καὶ τοῦ Ὑδραώτου ποταμοῦ, ἐνταῦθα δὲ τούς τε φθάνοντας ὑπομένειν ἐκέλευσεν ἔστ' ἂν ἥκῃ αὐτὸς καὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Κράτερον καὶ Πτολεμαῖον αὐτῷ ξυμβαλεῖν.

VI. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τούς ὑπασπιστάς τε καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τῶν πεζεταίρων[1] καλουμένων τὴν Πείθωνος τάξιν καὶ τοὺς ἱπποτοξότας τε πάντας καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τῶν ἑταίρων τοὺς ἡμίσεας διὰ γῆς ἀνύδρου ὡς ἐπὶ Μαλλοὺς ἦγεν, ἔθνος Ἰνδικὸν Ἰνδῶν τῶν αὐτονό-
2 μων. Καὶ τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ κατεστρατοπέδευσε πρὸς ὕδατι οὐ πολλῷ, ὃ δὴ ἀπεῖχε τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου ποταμοῦ σταδίους εἰς ἑκατόν· δειπνοποιησάμενος δὲ καὶ ἀναπαύσας τὴν στρατιὰν οὐ πολὺν χρόνον παραγγέλλει ὅ τι τις ἔχει ἄγγος ἐμπλῆσαι τοῦ ὕδατος. Διελθὼν δὲ τῆς τε ἡμέρας τὸ ἔτι ὑπολειπόμενον καὶ τὴν νύκτα ὅλην ἐς τετρακοσίους μάλιστα σταδίους ἅμα ἡμέρᾳ πρὸς πόλιν ἀφίκετο εἰς ἣν ξυμπεφεύγεσαν πολλοὶ τῶν
3 Μαλλῶν. Οἱ δὲ οὔποτ' ἂν οἰηθέντες διὰ τῆς ἀνύδρου ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ σφᾶς Ἀλέξανδρον ἔξω τε τῆς πόλεως οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ ἄνοπλοι ἦσαν· ἐφ' ὅτῳ καὶ δῆλος ἐγένετο ταύτην ἀγαγὼν Ἀλέξανδρος, ἣν ὅτι αὐτῷ ἀγαγεῖν χαλεπὸν ἦν, ἐπὶ τῷδε οὐδὲ

[1] ἀσθεταίρων A.

should fall in with Hephaestion's troops and be captured; but Ptolemaeus son of Lagus, to whom he handed over a part of the army, he bade follow him at the interval of three days, so that any who turned back again, fleeing from himself, might likewise fall in with Ptolemaeus and his troops. And as soon as they should arrive at the junction of the Acesines and Hydraotes, there he bade those who went in advance to wait till he himself should arrive and till the forces of Craterus and Ptolemaeus should join up with him.

VI. Then he himself took with him the bodyguards, the archers, the Agrianes, and Peitho's brigade of the so-called Infantry Companions, with all the mounted archers, and half the Companions' cavalry; and led them through a waterless country towards the Mallians, an Indian tribe, part of the self-governing Indians. On the first day he camped by a small pond, about a hundred stades from the river Acesines; and when he had dined, and had rested his army a short time, he passed the word along that every vessel anyone had was to be filled with water. Then marching about four hundred stades, during the remainder of that day and through the night, at daybreak he arrived at a city into which many of the Mallians had fled for refuge; but they, never dreaming that Alexander would march against them through this waterless region, were for the most part outside the city and unarmed; Alexander clearly had marched by this route, simply because it was especially difficult for him to march by it, and for that very reason none of his enemies could believe

τοῖς πολεμίοις ὅτι ἄξει πιστὸν ἐφαίνετο. Τούτοις
μὲν δὴ οὐ προσδοκήσασιν ἐπιπεσὼν τοὺς μὲν
πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτῶν οὐδὲ εἰς ἀλκήν, οἷα
δὴ ἀνόπλους, τραπέντας· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἐς τὴν
πόλιν κατακλεισθέντων κύκλῳ περιστήσας τῷ
τείχει τοὺς ἱππέας, ὅτι μήπω ἡ φάλαγξ τῶν
πεζῶν ἠκολουθήκει αὐτῷ, ἀντὶ χάρακος ἐχρήσατο
4 τῇ ἵππῳ. Ὡς δὲ τάχιστα οἱ πεζοὶ ἀφίκοντο,
Περδίκκαν μὲν τήν τε αὐτοῦ ἱππαρχίαν ἔχοντα
καὶ τὴν Κλείτου καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας πρὸς ἄλλην
πόλιν ἐκπέμπει τῶν Μαλλῶν, οἷ ξυμπεφευγότες
ἦσαν πολλοὶ τῶν ταύτῃ Ἰνδῶν, φυλάσσειν τοὺς
ἐν τῇ πόλει κελεύσας, ἔργου δὲ μὴ ἔχεσθαι ἔστ'
ἂν ἀφίκηται αὐτός, ὡς μηδὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς
πόλεως διαφυγόντας τινὰς αὐτῶν ἀγγέλους
γενέσθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις βαρβάροις ὅτι προσάγει
ἤδη Ἀλέξανδρος· αὐτὸς δὲ προσέβαλλε τῷ
5 τείχει. Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τὸ μὲν τεῖχος ἐκλεί-
πουσιν, ὡς οὐκ ἂν διαφυλάξοντες αὐτὸ ἔτι,
πολλῶν ἐν τῇ καταλήψει τεθνηκότων, τῶν δὲ καὶ
ἀπὸ τραυμάτων ἀπομάχων γεγενημένων· ἐς δὲ
τὴν ἄκραν ξυμφυγόντες χρόνον μέν τινα ἠμύνοντο
ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου τε χωρίου καὶ χαλεποῦ ἐς προσ-
βολήν· προσκειμένων δὲ πάντοθεν εὐρώστως τῶν
Μακεδόνων καὶ αὐτοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἄλλοτε ἄλλῃ
ἐπιφαινομένου τῷ ἔργῳ ἥ τε ἄκρα κατὰ κράτος
ἑάλω καὶ οἱ ξυμφυγόντες ἐς αὐτὴν πάντες ἀπέ-
θανον· ἦσαν δὲ ἐς δισχιλίους.
6 Περδίκκας δὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐφ' ἥντινα ἐστάλη
ἀφικόμενος, τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἐρήμην καταλαμ-
βάνει· μαθὼν δὲ ὅτι οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ πεφεύγεσαν
ἐξ αὐτῆς οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες δρόμῳ ἤλαυνε κατὰ

it possible that he would come that way. So then falling upon them all unexpecting he slew the greater part of them, who did not even resist, being as they were unarmed. The rest had fled into the city; and Alexander stationed, therefore, his cavalry round in a cordon; using the cavalry thus instead of a fence, since his infantry force had not yet come up with him. But as soon as ever the infantry did come up, he sent Perdiccas with his own cavalry regiment and that of Cleitus, with the Agrianes, against another city of the Mallians, whither many of the Indians of this district had fled for refuge, bidding him watch those in the city, but not to begin action till he himself should arrive; so as to prevent any fugitives from this city telling the other tribesmen that Alexander was already well on the way. Then he himself attacked the city wall; but the tribesmen deserted the wall, having no hope of defending it further; a good many of them perished in the assault, others were no longer fit for service from wounds; and taking refuge in the citadel, for some time they continued to defend themselves from this, which was a commanding position, and, besides, difficult to assault. But as the Macedonians pressed on stoutly from all sides, and as Alexander himself was here, there and everywhere in the action, the citadel was taken by assault, and all who had taken refuge there were put to the sword, to the number of about two thousand.

Perdiccas meanwhile arrived at the city to which he had been sent, and found it desolate; but learning that the inhabitants had not long fled, he rode

στίβον τῶν φευγόντων· οἱ δὲ ψιλοὶ ὡς τάχους εἶχον ποδῶν αὐτῷ ἐφείποντο. Καταλαβὼν δὲ τῶν φευγόντων κατέκοψεν ὅσοι γε μὴ ἔφθασαν ἐς τὰ ἕλη ξυμφυγόντες.

VII. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ δειπνοποιησάμενός τε καὶ ἀναπαύσας τοὺς ἀμφ' αὑτὸν ἔστε ἐπὶ πρώτην φυλακὴν ᾔει τοῦ πρόσω· καὶ τὴν νύκτα διελθὼν πολλὴν ὁδὸν ἅμα ἡμέρᾳ ἀφίκετο πρὸς τὸν Ὑδραώτην ποταμόν. Ἔνθα δὴ τῶν Μαλλῶν τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς διαβεβηκότας ἤδη ἔμαθε, τοῖς δὲ καὶ διαβαίνουσιν ἐπιγενόμενος περὶ αὐτὸν τὸν
2 πόρον πολλοὺς αὐτῶν διέφθειρε. Καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς εἶχε ξυνδιαβὰς κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν πόρον διώκων εἴχετο τῶν φθασάντων ἐς τὴν ἀποχώρησιν. Καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτῶν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ζῶντας ἔλαβεν, οἱ πλείους δὲ κατέφυγον ἔς τι χωρίον ὀχυρὸν καὶ τετειχισμένον. Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, ὡς οἱ πεζοὶ ἀφίκοντο αὐτῷ, ἀποστέλλει ἐπὶ τούτους Πείθωνα τήν τε αὑτοῦ τάξιν ἔχοντα καὶ
3 τῶν ἱππέων δύο ἱππαρχίας. Καὶ οὗτοι δὴ ἐξ ἐφόδου προσβαλόντες λαμβάνουσι τὸ χωρίον καὶ τοὺς καταπεφευγότας εἰς αὐτὸ ἠνδραπόδισαν, ὅσοι γε μὴ ἐν τῇ προσβολῇ διεφθάρησαν. Ταῦτα δὲ οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Πείθωνα διαπραξάμενοι ἐπανῆλθον αὖθις ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

4 Αὐτὸς δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν Βραχμάνων τινὰ πόλιν ἦγεν, ὅτι καὶ ἐς ταύτην ξυμπεφευγέναι τινὰς τῶν Μαλλῶν ἔμαθεν. Ὡς δὲ ἀφίκετο πρὸς αὐτήν, ἐπῆγε τῷ τείχει πάντοθεν πυκνὴν τὴν φάλαγγα. Οἱ δὲ ὑπορυσσόμενα τὰ τείχη ἰδόντες καὶ ἐκ τῶν βελῶν ἀναστελλόμενοι, τὰ μὲν τείχη καὶ οὗτοι ἐκλείπουσιν, ἐς δὲ τὴν

at full speed in the track of the fugitives; and the light-armed infantry followed with the best speed they could on foot. He caught up with and massacred so many of the fugitives as had not managed to escape into the marshes.

VII. Alexander, after seeing that his troops had dined and rested, began his advance again about the first watch. He marched a considerable distance during the night and at daybreak arrived at the river Hydraotes. There he learned that most of the Mallians had already crossed; he fell in with others who were actually crossing, and slew many of them during the crossing. He crossed himself, there and then, with them by the same crossing, and still pursuing pressed hard upon those who had got away ahead of him. Many of these too he slew; some he captured alive; but the greater number got safe away to a strong fortified position. But Alexander, as soon as his infantry came up with him, sent against these Peitho with his own brigade and two regiments of cavalry. They attacked, and on the first assault captured the stronghold, and enslaved all those who had taken refuge there, except such as had fallen in the assault. Then Peitho and his detachment, having finished all this, returned back again to the camp.

But Alexander himself was now advancing to a city of the Brachmans, learning that some of the Mallians had taken refuge there. And when he arrived there, he led up to the wall his phalanx in close formation on all sides. The inhabitants, seeing their walls undermined, and being dislodged by the missiles, deserted their walls, as the others had, and

ἄκραν ξυμφυγόντες ἐκεῖθεν ἠμύνοντο· ξυνεισ-
πεσόντων δὲ αὐτοῖς ὀλίγων Μακεδόνων, μετα-
βαλλόμενοι καὶ ξυστραφέντες τοὺς μὲν ἐξέωσαν
αὐτῶν, ἀπέκτειναν δὲ ἐν τῇ ὑποστροφῇ ἐς πέντε
5 καὶ εἴκοσι. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Ἀλέξανδρος τάς τε
κλίμακας πάντοθεν κελεύει προστιθέναι τῇ ἄκρᾳ
καὶ ὑπορύττειν τὸ τεῖχος. Ὡς δὲ πύργος τε
ἔπεσεν ὑπορυσσόμενος καὶ τοῦ μεταπυργίου τι
παραρραγὲν ἐπιμαχωτέραν ταύτῃ ἐποίησε τὴν
ἄκραν, πρῶτος Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπιβὰς τοῦ τείχους
6 ὤφθη ἔχων τὸ τεῖχος. Καὶ τοῦτον ἰδόντες οἱ
ἄλλοι Μακεδόνες αἰσχυνθέντες ἄλλος ἄλλῃ
ἀνῄεσαν.[1] Εἴχετό τε ἤδη ἡ ἄκρα, καὶ τῶν Ἰνδῶν
οἱ μὲν τὰς οἰκίας ἐνεπίμπρασαν καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς
ἐγκαταλαμβανόμενοι ἀπέθνησκον, οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ
μαχόμενοι αὐτῶν. Ἀπέθανον δὲ οἱ πάντες ἐς
πεντακισχιλίους, ζῶντες δὲ δι᾽ ἀνδρείαν ὀλίγοι
ἐλήφθησαν.

VIII. Μείνας δὲ αὐτοῦ μίαν ἡμέραν καὶ ἀνα-
παύσας τὴν στρατιάν, τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ προὐχώρει
ὡς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Μαλλούς. Καὶ τὰς μὲν
πόλεις ἐκλελοιπότας καταλαμβάνει, αὐτοὺς δὲ
2 ἔμαθεν ὅτι πεφευγότες εἶεν ἐς τὴν ἔρημον. Καὶ
ἐνταῦθα αὖθις μίαν ἡμέραν ἀναπαύσας τὴν
στρατιάν, ἐς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν Πείθωνα μὲν καὶ
Δημήτριον τὸν ἱππάρχην πρὸς τὸν ποταμὸν
ὀπίσω ἀπέπεμψεν ὧν τε αὐτοὶ ἡγοῦντο ἄγοντας
καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ψιλῶν τάξεις δοὺς αὐτοῖς ὅσαι
3 ἱκαναὶ πρὸς τὸ ἔργον. Προσέταξε δὲ παρὰ τὴν
ὄχθην τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἰόντας, εἴ τισι περιτυγχάνοιεν
τῶν ἐς τὰς ὕλας ξυμπεφευγότων, αἳ δὴ πολλαὶ

[1] ἀνῄεσαν Ellendt, ἀνίεσαν A.

taking refuge in the citadel defended themselves there. A few Macedonians, however, broke in with them, whereupon they, turning to bay and forming a solid mass, drove out some of the attackers, and slew some twenty-five of them while they attempted to withdraw. Meanwhile Alexander ordered ladders on all sides to be placed against the citadel, and the wall to be undermined. And when a tower, being undermined, fell, and part of the wall between the towers being breached made the citadel easier of assault on that side, Alexander first mounted the wall and all could see him holding it. Observing him, the rest of the Macedonians, feeling ashamed, mounted, one here, and one there. And by this time the citadel was in their hands, and of the Indians some set fire to their houses, and being captured in them, were put to death, but most of them perished fighting. Up to five thousand in all fell, but owing to their brave defence only a few were captured alive.

VIII. Alexander remained there one day and rested his army, and on the next day began his advance against the remaining Mallians. He found the cities deserted, but learned that the inhabitants had fled into the desert. There again he rested his army one day, and for the next day sent Peitho and Demetrius the cavalry commander back to the river, with the troops they had been in command of, giving them besides these such companies of light-armed as were enough for their enterprise. Alexander commanded them to go along the river bank, and if they should come across any of those who had fled for refuge to the woods, of which there was abun-

πρὸς τῇ ὄχθῃ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἦσαν, τούτους κτείνειν,
ὅσοι μὴ ἐθελονταὶ σφᾶς ἐνδιδοῖεν. Καὶ πολλοὺς
καταλαβόντες ἐν ταῖς ὕλαις οἱ ἀμφὶ Πείθωνά τε
καὶ Δημήτριον ἀπέκτειναν.
4 Αὐτὸς δὲ ἦγεν ἐπὶ τὴν μεγίστην τῶν Μαλλῶν
πόλιν, ἵνα καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων πολλοὺς
ξυμπεφευγέναι αὐτῷ ἐξηγγέλλετο. Ἀλλὰ καὶ
ταύτην ἐξέλιπον οἱ Ἰνδοὶ ὡς προσάγοντα Ἀλέξ-
ανδρον ἔμαθον· διαβάντες δὲ τὸν Ὑδραώτην
ποταμόν, ἐπὶ ταῖς ὄχθαις αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ὑψηλαὶ
αἱ ὄχθαι ἦσαν, παρατεταγμένοι ἔμενον, ὡς
5 εἵρξοντες τοῦ πόρου Ἀλέξανδρον. Καὶ ταῦτα
ὡς ἤκουσεν, ἀναλαβὼν τὴν ἵππον τὴν ἅμα αὐτῷ
πᾶσαν ᾔει ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Ὑδραώτην, ἵναπερ παρα-
τετάχθαι τοὺς Μαλλοὺς ἐξηγγέλλετο· οἱ δὲ πεζοὶ
ἕπεσθαι αὐτῷ ἐτάχθησαν. Ὡς δὲ ἀφίκετό τε
ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐν τῷ πέραν τοὺς πολεμίους κατεῖδε
τεταγμένους, ὡς εἶχεν ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐμβάλλει ἐς
6 τὸν πόρον ξὺν τῇ ἵππῳ μόνῃ. Οἱ δέ, ἰδόντες ἐν
μέσῳ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὄντα ἤδη Ἀλέξανδρον, κατὰ
σπουδὴν μέν, ξυντεταγμένοι δὲ ὅμως ἀπεχώρουν
ἀπὸ τῆς ὄχθης· καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ξὺν μόνῃ τῇ
ἵππῳ εἵπετο. Ὡς δὲ κατεῖδον ἱππέας μόνους,
ἐπιστρέψαντες οἱ Ἰνδοὶ καρτερῶς ἐμάχοντο,
πλῆθος ὄντες ἐς πέντε μυριάδας. Καὶ Ἀλέξ-
ανδρος ὡς τήν τε φάλαγγα αὐτῶν πυκνὴν κατεῖδε
καὶ αὐτῷ οἱ πεζοὶ ἀπῆσαν, προσβολὰς μὲν ἐποίει[1]
ἐς κύκλους παριππεύων· ἐς χεῖρας δὲ οὐκ ᾔει τοῖς
7 Ἰνδοῖς. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ παραγίγνονται αὐτῷ οἵ
τε Ἀγριᾶνες καὶ ἄλλαι τάξεις τῶν ψιλῶν, ἃς δὴ
ἐπιλέκτους ἅμα οἷ ἦγε, καὶ οἱ τοξόται· οὐ πόρρω

[1] A ἐποίει τοὺς, which may justify Krüger's ἐποιεῖτο ἐς.

dance along the river bank, to put them to death, except such as voluntarily surrendered. Peitho's and Demetrius' troops did, in fact, find large numbers in the woods, and put them to death.

Alexander himself, however, marched against the greatest city of the Mallians, whither it was reported to him many had fled out of the other cities. But even this city the Indians deserted when they learnt of Alexander's approach; and crossing the Hydraotes they stood their ground, drawn up in order, on the banks, since these were of a good height, with the idea of preventing Alexander from crossing. As soon as he heard that, he took all the cavalry which he had with him and marched towards the Hydraotes, where it was reported that the Mallians were marshalled; the infantry was ordered to follow. And when he reached the river and saw the enemy in battle order on the far side, without any hesitation he plunged from the road into the ford with the cavalry only. The enemy, seeing Alexander already in midstream, retired from the bank rapidly, but in good order, Alexander following on with only his cavalry. But when the Indians saw he had cavalry only, they turned about and made a vigorous resistance, in number about fifty thousand. Alexander, seeing their infantry formation solid, and with his own infantry not yet on the field, kept circling round and making charges, but without coming to close quarters with the Indians. By this time the Agrianes and other companies of the light troops had joined him; these were picked troops which he had in his own force; and also the

δὲ οὐδὲ ἡ φάλαγξ ἐφαίνετο τῶν πεζῶν. Καὶ οἱ Ἰνδοὶ ὁμοῦ σφίσι πάντων τῶν δεινῶν προσκειμένων ἀποστρέψαντες ἤδη προτροπάδην ἔφευγον
8 ἐς πόλιν ὀχυρωτάτην τῶν πλησίον. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἑπόμενός τε αὐτοῖς πολλοὺς ἔκτεινε, καὶ ὡς ἐς τὴν πόλιν οἱ διαφυγόντες κατειλήθησαν, πρῶτα μὲν τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἐξ ἐφόδου ἐκυκλώσατο τὴν πόλιν· ὡς δὲ οἱ πεζοὶ αὐτῷ παρῆσαν, ταύτῃ μὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ περιστρατοπεδεύει ἐν κύκλῳ τοῦ τείχους, ὅτι οὐ πολύ τε τῆς ἡμέρας ὑπελείπετο ἐς τὴν προσβολήν, καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ αὐτῷ ὑπό τε πορείας μακρᾶς οἱ πεζοὶ καὶ ὑπὸ διώξεως συνεχοῦς οἱ ἵπποι καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα κατὰ τὸν πόρον τοῦ ποταμοῦ τεταλαιπωρήκεσαν.

IX. Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ διχῇ διελὼν τὸν στρατὸν τοῦ μὲν ἑτέρου αὐτὸς ἡγούμενος προσέβαλλε τῷ τείχει, τὸ δ' ἕτερον Περδίκκας προσῆγε. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οὐ δεξάμενοι οἱ Ἰνδοὶ τῶν Μακεδόνων τὴν ὁρμὴν τὰ μὲν τείχη τῆς πόλεως λείπουσιν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐς τὴν ἄκραν ξυνέφευγον. Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν οὖν καὶ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν πυλίδα τινὰ κατασχίσαντες
2 παρῆλθον ἐς τὴν πόλιν πολὺ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων· οἱ δὲ ὁμοῦ Περδίκκᾳ τεταγμένοι ὑστέρησαν ὑπερβαίνοντες κατὰ τὰ τείχη οὐκ εὐπετῶς, οὐδὲ τὰς κλίμακας οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν φέροντες, ὅτι ἑαλωκέναι αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει ἡ πόλις, ἐρημούμενα τῶν προμαχομένων τὰ τείχη ὡς κατεῖδον. Ὡς δὲ ἡ ἄκρα ἐχομένη πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων καὶ πρὸ ταύτης τεταγμένοι εἰς τὸ ἀπομάχεσθαι πολλοὶ ἐφάνησαν, ἐνταῦθα δὴ οἱ μὲν ὑπορύσσοντες τὸ τεῖχος, οἱ δὲ προσθέσει ὅπῃ παρείκοι τῶν κλιμάκων βιάσασθαι
3 ἐπειρῶντο ἐς τὴν ἄκραν. Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, ὡς

archers. Not far off the main body of the infantry was visible. The Indians, then, with all these terrors converging upon them, turned, now in full flight, to the most strongly fortified of the near by cities. Alexander, however, following close upon them slew large numbers, and when the fugitives had been received into the city, he first, marching on, threw his cavalry in a circle round the city, and when his infantry came up, for this day he encamped all round the wall, since he had not much daylight left for the attack, and his army, the infantry from their long march, the cavalry from their close pursuit, and all especially from the crossing of the river, were much distressed.

IX. The next day Alexander divided his army, and taking the command of one part himself, began his attack on the wall. The other part Perdiccas took command of. Meanwhile the Indians did not await the attack of the Macedonians, but deserted the walls of the city, and themselves fled together to the citadel. Alexander, however, and his troops tore down a small gate and penetrated into the city far in advance of the rest. But those under Perdiccas' command fell behind, having difficulty in getting over the wall; and most of them carried no ladders, since they thought the city had actually been captured, when they saw the walls bereft of their defenders. When, however, it was obvious that the citadel was in the enemy's hands, and in front of it were seen many defenders drawn up to fight from thence, some at once began undermining the wall, others set ladders wherever opportunity offered and tried to force a way into the citadel. But Alexander, thinking that the Macedonians who

βλακεύειν αὐτῷ ἐδόκουν τῶν Μακεδόνων οἱ φέροντες τὰς κλίμακας, ἁρπάσας κλίμακα ἑνὸς τῶν φερόντων προσέθηκε τῷ τείχει αὐτὸς καὶ εἰληθεὶς ὑπὸ τῇ ἀσπίδι ἀνέβαινεν· ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ Πευκέστας ὁ τὴν ἱερὰν ἀσπίδα φέρων, ἣν ἐκ τοῦ νεὼ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Ἰλιάδος λαβὼν ἅμα οἷ εἶχεν Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἐφέρετο ἐν ταῖς μάχαις· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ Λεοννάτος ἀνῄει κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν κλίμακα ὁ σωματοφύλαξ· κατὰ δὲ ἄλλην κλίμακα Ἀβρέας τῶν διμοιριτῶν τις στρατευο-
4 μένων. Ἤδη τε πρὸς τῇ ἐπάλξει τοῦ τείχους ὁ βασιλεὺς ἦν καὶ ἐρείσας ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ τὴν ἀσπίδα τοὺς μὲν ὤθει εἴσω τοῦ τείχους τῶν Ἰνδῶν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ τῷ ξίφει ἀποκτείνας γεγυμνώκει τὸ ταύτῃ τεῖχος· καὶ οἱ ὑπασπισταὶ ὑπέρφοβοι γενόμενοι ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλέως σπουδῇ ὠθούμενοι κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν κλίμακα συντρίβουσιν αὐτήν, ὥστε οἱ μὲν ἤδη ἀνιόντες αὐτῶν κάτω ἔπεσον, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἄπορον ἐποίησαν τὴν ἄνοδον.

5 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους στὰς κύκλῳ τε ἀπὸ τῶν πλησίον πύργων ἐβάλλετο (οὐ γὰρ πελάσαι γε ἐτόλμα τις αὐτῷ τῶν Ἰνδῶν), καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, οὐδὲ πόρρω[1] τούτων γε ἐσακοντιζόντων (ἔτυχε γάρ τι καὶ προσκεχωσμένον ταύτῃ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος), δῆλος μὲν ἦν Ἀλέξανδρος ὢν τῶν τε ὅπλων τῇ λαμπρότητι καὶ τῷ ἀτόπῳ τῆς τόλμης, ἔγνω δὲ ὅτι αὐτοῦ μὲν μένων κινδυνεύσει μηδὲν ὅ τι καὶ λόγου ἄξιον ἀποδεικνύμενος, καταπηδήσας δὲ εἴσω τοῦ τείχους τυχὸν μὲν

[1] Krüger πόρρωθεν (as also in viii. 7 above). These attempts to make Arrian consistent with himself result in much tampering with the text.

were bringing the ladders were malingering, seized a ladder from one of those who bore them, and himself set it up against the wall, and gathering himself well under his shield mounted up; and next Peucestas, carrying the sacred shield, which Alexander had taken from the temple of Athena of Ilium and always kept by him, and which was carried before him in battle; and then Leonnatus, the officer of the bodyguard, climbed up; and by another ladder Abreas, one of the Distinguished Service Order.[1] By this time the King was by the battlement of the wall, and leaning his shield against it pushed some of the Indians within the wall, others there and then he slew with his sword, and so stripped that part of wall bare of defenders; but the bodyguards, becoming nervous for their King, hurriedly making their way up the same ladder broke it, so that those already mounting fell down, and prevented the rest from ascending.

But Alexander, standing as he was upon the wall, was shot at all round from the neighbouring towers; for none of the Indians dared to approach him; and also from those in the city, these indeed being within short range, for at this point there was a mound near the wall. Alexander was indeed most conspicuous, both by the splendour of his arms and by his miraculous courage; and he felt that by remaining where he was he would run a very great risk and yet do no achievement worthy of note; but that if he leapt down within the wall he might

[1] Literally, one on double pay (for services on the field).

αὐτῷ τούτῳ ἐκπλήξει τοὺς Ἰνδούς, εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ κινδυνεύειν δέοι, μεγάλα ἔργα καὶ τοῖς ἔπειτα πυθέσθαι ἄξια ἐργασάμενος οὐκ ἀσπουδεὶ ἀποθανεῖται, ταῦτα γνοὺς καταπηδᾷ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους
6 ἐς τὴν ἄκραν. Ἔνθα δὴ ἐρεισθεὶς πρὸς τῷ τείχει τοὺς μέν τινας ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντας καὶ τόν γε ἡγεμόνα τῶν Ἰνδῶν προσφερόμενόν οἱ θρασύτερον παίσας τῷ ξίφει ἀποκτείνει· ἄλλον δὲ πελάζοντα λίθῳ βαλὼν ἔσχε, καὶ ἄλλον λίθῳ, τὸν δὲ ἐγγυτέρω προσάγοντα τῷ ξίφει αὖθις. Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι πελάζειν μὲν αὐτῷ οὐκέτι ἤθελον, ἔβαλλον δὲ πάντοθεν περιεστηκότες ὅ τι τις ἔχων βέλος ἐτύγχανεν ἢ ἐν τῷ τότε ἔλαβεν.

X. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Πευκέστας τε καὶ ὁ διμοιρίτης Ἀβρέας καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς Λεοννάτος, οἳ δὴ μόνοι ἔτυχον πρὶν ξυντριβῆναι τὰς κλίμακας ἀναβεβηκότες ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος, καταπηδήσαντες καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐμάχοντο. Καὶ Ἀβρέας μὲν ὁ διμοιρίτης πίπτει αὐτοῦ, τοξευθεὶς ἐς τὸ πρόσωπον· Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ βάλλεται καὶ αὐτὸς διὰ τοῦ θώρακος ἐς τὸ στῆθος τοξεύματι ὑπὲρ τὸν μαστόν, ὥστε λέγει Πτολεμαῖος ὅτι καὶ πνεῦμα ὁμοῦ τῷ αἵματι ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος
2 ἐξεπνεῖτο. Ὁ δέ, ἔστε μὲν ἔτι θερμὸν ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ αἷμα, καίπερ κακῶς ἔχων, ἠμύνετο· πολλοῦ δὲ δὴ τοῦ αἵματος καὶ ἀθρόου, οἷα δὴ ξὺν πνεύματι, ἐκρυέντος, ἴλιγγός τε αὐτὸν καὶ λειποψυχία κατέσχε καὶ πίπτει αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα ξυννεύσας. Πευκέστας δὲ περιβὰς πεπτωκότι καὶ ὑπερσχὼν τὴν ἱερὰν τὴν ἐξ Ἰλίου ἀσπίδα πρὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ Λεοννάτος ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα αὐτοί τε

perhaps by this very action frighten the Indians, while if he must be endangered, he might die not ignobly, after doing great deeds, worthy for those that came after to hear of. With this thought he leapt down from the wall and into the citadel. There taking firm stand by the wall, he smote with his sword and slew some who came to grips with him, and even the Indians' commander-in-chief, who came very boldly to attack him; another as he approached he checked by hurling a stone, and another in the same way; but anyone who came within striking distance he smote again with his sword. The Indians were no longer ready to approach him; but keeping at a distance showered missiles upon him from all sides, whatever anyone had in his hand, or could lay his hands upon.

X. Meanwhile Peucestas and Abreas, of the Distinguished Service Order, and Leonnatus with them, the only men who had managed to get on to the wall before the ladders broke, leapt down also and fought to defend their King. Abreas indeed fell there, shot with an arrow in the face; and Alexander himself also was struck, right through the corslet into his breast over the lung, so that, according to Ptolemy, breath together with blood shot forth from the wound. Yet Alexander, as long as the blood was still warm, although faint, kept defending himself; but when a good deal of blood came forth, in a thick stream, as would be with the breath, he was overcome by dizziness and faintness, and fell there where he stood bending over his shield. Peucestas stood astride of him as he lay there, and holding up before him the sacred shield from Ilium, and Leonnatus on the other side, the two received the showers of

βάλλονται ἀμφότεροι καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐγγὺς ἦν
3 ἤδη ὑπὸ τοῦ αἵματος ἐκλιπεῖν. Τοῖς γὰρ Μακεδόσι καὶ ταύτῃ ἐν ἀπόρῳ γεγένητο τὰ τῆς προσβολῆς, ὅτι οἱ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον βαλλόμενόν τε ἐπὶ τῷ τείχει ἰδόντες καὶ πηδῶντα εἴσω ἐς τὴν ἄκραν, ὑπὸ σπουδῆς τε καὶ φόβου μή τι αὐτοῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς πάθῃ οὐ ξὺν νῷ κινδυνεύων, τὰς κλίμακας ξυντετριφότες ἄλλοι ἄλλας μηχανὰς ἐς τὸ ἀνελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ὡς ἐν ἀπόροις ἐμηχανῶντο, οἱ μὲν πασσάλους ἐμπηγνύοντες ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, γήϊνον ὄν, καὶ κατὰ τούτους ἐκκρεμαννύμενοι χαλεπῶς ἀνεῖρπον, οἱ δέ, ἄλλοι ἐπ'
4 ἄλλους ἐπιβαίνοντες. Ὁ δὲ πρῶτος ἀνελθὼν ἐνρίπτει ἑαυτὸν κατὰ τοῦ τείχους ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ἵναπερ τὸν βασιλέα ἑώρων κείμενον, ξὺν οἰμωγῇ καὶ ἀλαλαγμῷ πάντες. Ἤδη τε ἀμφ' αὐτῷ πεπτωκότι καρτερὰ μάχη ξυνειστήκει ἄλλου ἐπ' ἄλλῳ τῶν Μακεδόνων προασπίζοντος, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ μὲν τὸν μοχλὸν ὅτῳ εἴχετο ἡ κατὰ τὸ μεταπύργιον πύλη κατασχίσαντες, ἐπ' ὀλίγους παρῄεσαν· οἱ δὲ καθ' ὅ τι ἡ πύλη διέσχε τοὺς ὤμους ὑποθέντες καὶ ὤσαντες ἐς τὸ εἴσω τοῦ τείχους,[1] ἀνεπέτασαν ταύτῃ τὴν ἄκραν.

XI. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ μὲν ἔκτεινον τοὺς Ἰνδούς, καὶ ἀπέκτειναν γε πάντας οὐδὲ γυναῖκα ἢ παῖδα ὑπελείποντο· οἱ δὲ ἐξέφερον τὸν βασιλέα ἐπὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος κακῶς ἔχοντα, οὔπω γιγνώσκοντες βιώσιμον ὄντα. Τὸ δὲ βέλος ἐξελκύσαι ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος ἐπιτεμόντα τὴν πληγὴν οἱ μὲν Κριτόδημον ἀνέγραψαν, ἰατρὸν Κῷον, τὸ γένος Ἀσκληπιάδην· οἱ δέ, Περδίκκαν τὸν σωματοφύλακα, οὐ

[1] τοῦ τείχους Krüger; but τὸ τεῖχος seems satisfactory.

missiles while Alexander from loss of blood was near to fainting. For the conduct of the Macedonian assault had come to a deadlock at this point, since those who saw Alexander exposed to missiles on the wall and then leaping inside into the citadel, these, both through ardour and fear lest their King should come to harm by this thoughtless daring, broke down the ladders, and contrived various expedients for scaling the wall, in this difficulty; some hammered pegs into the wall, which was of clay, and clinging to these managed with difficulty to clamber up; others too mounted on their comrades' shoulders. The first to ascend threw himself down from the wall into the city, where they saw the King lying; and all lamented, and raised their battle-cry. And already a severe battle was raging about the fallen King, now one, now another of the Macedonians holding his shield over him, but in the meantime some of the troops had severed the bar with which the gate between the towers was barred, and so passed in in small detachments; others then put their shoulders to a gap broken in the door and pushed it towards the space within the wall, and so opened up the citadel on this side.

XI. And now some began to slaughter the Indians, and they slew them all, leaving neither child nor woman; while others carried off the King, who was in very evil plight, on the shield, not yet knowing whether he could live. Some authorities recorded that Critodemus, a physician of Cos, by birth of the family of Asclepius, drew out the arrow from the wound, cutting the part which it had struck; others that Perdiccas of the bodyguard, no surgeon being at

παρόντος ἐν τῷ δεινῷ ἰατροῦ, ἐγκελευσαμένου Ἀλεξάνδρου τῷ ξίφει ἐπιτεμεῖν τὴν πληγὴν καὶ
2 κομίσασθαι τὸ βέλος. Ἐν δὲ τῇ κομιδῇ φορὰ αἵματος πολλοῦ γίγνεται, ὥστε λειποψυχῆσαι αὖθις Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ οὕτω σχεθῆναι αὐτῷ τὸ αἷμα ὑπὸ τῇ λειποψυχίᾳ. Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἀναγέγραπται τοῖς ξυγγραφεῦσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ παθήματος, καὶ ἡ φήμη παραδεξαμένη αὐτὰ κατὰ τοὺς πρώτους ψευσαμένους ἔτι καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς διασώζει, οὐδὲ ἀφήσει παραδιδοῦσα καὶ ἐφεξῆς ἄλλοις τὰ ψεύδη, εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ τῆσδε τῆς ξυγγραφῆς παύσεται.

3 Αὐτίκα ἐν Ὀξυδράκαις τὸ πάθημα τοῦτο γενέσθαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὁ πᾶς λόγος κατέχει· τὸ δὲ ἐν Μαλλοῖς, ἔθνει αὐτονόμῳ Ἰνδικῷ, ξυνέβη, καὶ ἥ τε πόλις Μαλλῶν ἦν καὶ οἱ βαλόντες Ἀλέξανδρον Μαλλοί· οἳ δὴ ἐγνώκεσαν μὲν ξυμμίξαντες τοῖς Ὀξυδράκαις οὕτω διαγωνίζεσθαι, ἔφθη δὲ διὰ τῆς ἀνύδρου ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἐλάσας πρίν τινα ὠφέλειαν αὐτοῖς παρὰ τῶν Ὀξυδρακῶν γενέσθαι ἢ
4 αὐτοὺς ἐκείνοις τι ἐπωφελῆσαι. Ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν τελευταίαν μάχην τὴν πρὸς Δαρεῖον γενομένην, καθ᾽ ἥντινα ἔφυγε Δαρεῖος οὐδὲ πρόσθεν ἔληξε τῆς φυγῆς πρὶν ξυλληφθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφὶ Βῆσσον καὶ προσάγοντος ἤδη Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀποθανεῖν, πρὸς Ἀρβήλοις γενέσθαι ὁ πᾶς λόγος κατέχει, καθάπερ οὖν καὶ τὴν πρὸ ταύτης ἐν Ἰσσῷ, καὶ τὴν πρώτην ἱππομαχίαν πρὸς Γρα-
5 νικῷ. Ἀλλὰ πρὸς Γρανικῷ μὲν ξυνέβη μάχη ἱππικὴ καὶ πρὸς Ἰσσῷ ἡ αὖθις πρὸς Δαρεῖον μάχη· Ἄρβηλα δὲ τοῦ χώρου ἐν ᾧ τὴν ἐσχάτην μάχην Δαρεῖός τε καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐμαχέσαντο οἱ μὲν τὰ πλεῖστα ξυγγράψαντες λέγουσιν ὅτι

hand in this emergency, cut the wound with his sword, at Alexander's express command, and so drew out the arrow. In the withdrawal there was a great rush of blood, so that Alexander fainted again, and the haemorrhage was thus checked by his fainting. A great many other stories have been written by the historians about this disaster, and legend has handed them on as the first falsifiers told them, and still keeps them alive to this day; and will indeed never cease handing on these falsehoods to others in turn, unless it be checked by this my history.

To begin with, tradition is unanimous that this disaster happened to Alexander among the Oxydracae; whereas it took place among the Mallians, an independent Indian tribe; the city was a Mallian city, and they were Mallians who wounded Alexander; they had indeed determined to join the Oxydracae and so fight together, but Alexander reached them too quickly, marching through the desert, before any help had time to reach them from the Oxydracae, or they give any help to the Oxydracae. In the same way, universal tradition has it that the last battle with Dareius, that in which Dareius fled and continued his flight until he was captured by Bessus and his followers, and perished, while Alexander was pressing hard upon him, took place at Arbela; and the battle before this at Issus, and the first, the cavalry battle, at the Granicus. Actually, a cavalry battle took place at the Granicus, and the second battle against Dareius at Issus; but those historians who put Arbela furthest was away from the place where Dareius and Alexander fought their last

ἐξακοσίους σταδίους ἀπέχει, οἱ δὲ τὰ ἐλάχιστα,
ὅτι ἐς πεντακοσίους. Ἀλλὰ ἐν Γαυγαμήλοις γὰρ
γενέσθαι τὴν μάχην πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ Βουμώδῳ[1]
6 λέγει Πτολεμαῖος καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος. Πόλις δὲ
οὐκ ἦν τὰ Γαυγάμηλα, ἀλλὰ κώμη μεγάλη, οὐδὲ
ὀνομαστὸς ὁ χῶρος οὐδὲ ἐς ἀκοὴν ἡδὺ τὸ ὄνομα·
ἔνθεν δέ μοι δοκεῖ πόλις οὖσα τὰ Ἄρβηλα ἀπη-
νέγκατο τὴν δόξαν τῆς μεγάλης μάχης. Εἰ δὲ
πρὸς Ἀρβήλοις χρὴ οἴεσθαι γενέσθαι τὸ ἔργον
ἐκεῖνο, ἐς τοσόνδε Ἀρβήλων ἀπέχον, καὶ τὴν ἐν
Σαλαμῖνι γενομένην ναυμαχίαν πρὸς ἰσθμῷ τῷ
Κορινθίων ἔξεστι λέγειν ὅτι ἐγένετο, καὶ τὴν ἐπ'
Ἀρτεμισίῳ τῆς Εὐβοίας πρὸς Αἰγίνῃ ἢ Σουνίῳ.
7 Καὶ μὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑπερασπισάντων ἐν τῷ
κινδύνῳ Ἀλεξάνδρου, Πευκέσταν μὲν γενέσθαι
ξύμπαντες ὁμολογοῦσιν, ὑπὲρ Λεοννάτου δὲ οὐ-
κέτι ξυμφέρονται οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ Ἀβρέου τοῦ διμοι-
ρίτου. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ξύλῳ πληγέντα κατὰ τοῦ
κράνους Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ ἰλιγγιάσαντα πεσεῖν,
αὖθις δὲ ἀναστάντα βληθῆναι βέλει διὰ τοῦ
θώρακος ἐς τὸ στῆθος· Πτολεμαῖος δ' ὁ Λάγου
ταύτην μόνην τὴν πληγὴν πληγῆναι λέγει τὴν
8 ἐς τὸ στῆθος. Τὸ δὲ δὴ μέγιστον πλημμέλημα
τῶν ξυγγραψάντων τὰ ἀμφὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐκεῖνο
τίθεμαι ἔγωγε. Πτολεμαῖον γὰρ τὸν Λάγου
ἔστιν οἳ ἀνέγραψαν ξυναναβῆναί τε Ἀλεξάνδρῳ
κατὰ τὴν κλίμακα ὁμοῦ Πευκέστᾳ καὶ ὑπερασπι-
σαι κειμένου, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε Σωτῆρα ἐπικληθῆναι
τὸν Πτολεμαῖον· καίτοι αὐτὸς Πτολεμαῖος ἀνα-

[1] See III. 8. 7. We should perhaps keep Βουμήλῳ here, though A's reading is doubtful. Curtius IV. 9. 10 has Boumelus.

battle say that it is 600 stades away; those who make the distance least, put it at 500 stades. For Ptolemaeus and Aristobulus state that the battle took place at Gaugamela by the river Bumodus. Gaugamela, moreover, was not a city but a large village; it was not an important place, and the name has rather an awkward sound; and thus, as I opine, Arbela, being a city, carried off the glory of this great battle. If, however, we must hold that this engagement took place at Arbela when it was actually at such a distance from Arbela, we may as well hold that the naval battle at Salamis took place at the isthmus of Corinth, and the battle of Artemisium in Euboea at Aegina or Sunium.

Then again, as to those who protected Alexander with their shields in his grave danger, all agree that one was Peucestas, but they do not agree about Leonnatus nor yet about Abreas, the winner of the Distinguished Service Order. Then some say that Alexander was struck on the helmet with a club, and became dizzy, and so fell; and then, rising up again, was struck with a shot in the breast, right through his breastplate; but Ptolemaeus son of Lagus states that there was only this one wound, that in the breast.[1] But I reckon the greatest error of those who wrote histories of Alexander to be this; Ptolemaeus son of Lagus, according to some authorities, mounted up with Alexander up the ladder, together with Peucestas, and held his shield over him as he lay there, and for this Ptolemaeus was always called in addition the Saviour; whereas Ptolemaeus him-

[1] This passage is given as Ptolemaeus, Fragm. 20, in Dübner's edition. Curtius blames Clitarchus and Timagenes for relating that Ptolemaeus was present.

γέγραφεν οὐδὲ παραγενέσθαι τούτῳ τῷ ἔργῳ· ἀλλὰ στρατιᾶς γὰρ αὐτὸς ἡγούμενος ἄλλας μάχεσθαι μάχας καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους βαρβάρους. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐν ἐκβολῇ τοῦ λόγου ἀναγεγράφθω μοι, ὡς μὴ ἀταλαίπωρον γίγνεσθαι τοῖς ἔπειτα ἀνθρώποις τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν τηλικούτων ἔργων τε καὶ παθημάτων ἀφήγησιν.

XII. Ἐν ᾧ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος αὐτοῦ μένων τὸ τραῦμα ἐθεραπεύετο, ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἔνθενπερ ὡρμήθη ἐπὶ τοὺς Μαλλοὺς ὁ μὲν πρῶτος λόγος ἧκεν ὅτι τεθνηκὼς εἴη ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος. Καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα οἰμωγὴ ἦν τῆς στρατιᾶς ξυμπάσης, ἄλλου ἄλλῳ παραδιδόντος τὴν φήμην· παυσάμενοι δὲ τῆς οἰμωγῆς ἄθυμοί τε καὶ ἄποροι ἦσαν ὅστις μὲν ἐξηγούμενος ἔσται τῆς στρατιᾶς
2 (πολλοῖς γὰρ δὴ ἐν ἴσῳ τὰ τῆς ἀξιώσεως ἐδόκει πρός τε αὐτοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ πρὸς Μακεδόνων καθεστηκέναι)· ὅπως δὲ ἀποσωθήσονται εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν, τοσούτων μὲν ἐθνῶν μαχίμων περιειργόντων σφᾶς ἐν κύκλῳ, τῶν μὲν οὔπω προσκεχωρηκότων, ἃ δὴ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας εἴκαζον ἀγωνιεῖσθαι καρτερῶς, τῶν δὲ ἀποστησομένων, ἀφαιρεθέντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου φόβου· ποταμῶν τε ἐν μέσῳ ἀδιαβάτων τότε δ' ἐδόκουν εἶναι, καὶ πάντα σφίσιν ἄπορα καὶ ἀμήχανα
3 ἐρήμοις Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐφαίνετο. Ὡς δὲ ἧκέ ποτε λόγος ὅτι ζῇ Ἀλέξανδρος, τούτῳ μὲν μόγις ξυνεχώρησαν· εἰ δὲ καὶ βιώσιμός ἐστιν, οὔπω ἐπιστεύετο. Ὡς δὲ καὶ γράμματα παρ' αὐτοῦ ἧκεν ὅτι ὅσον οὔπω κατελεύσεται ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, οὐδὲ ταῦτα τοῖς πολλοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄγαν

self has recorded that he was not so much as present in this action; but in fact was at the head of his own force and was fighting other battles and against other tribesmen. This much I must be permitted to have said, by way of digression, so that those who come afterwards may give some pains to the narrative of such great deeds and disasters.

XII. While Alexander was resting here and getting treatment for his wound, the first report reached the camp whence he had set out against the Mallians that he had died from the wound. And first there was a lamentation from all the army as one told the report to another; then, while ceasing their lamentation, they were disheartened and despairing as to the future leader of the host (for both in Alexander's opinion and in the Macedonians' many seemed to be equal in reputation), and despairing too how they might get back safe to their own homes, with all these warlike nations closing them round in a circle, some of whom had not yet surrendered, and these seemed likely to fight stoutly for their freedom; and others were certain to revolt, if the dread of Alexander was removed from them. Then they believed that they were, at the time, in the midst of impassable rivers; and everything seemed to them helpless and hopeless if they had lost Alexander. Yet when news came that Alexander was alive, they hardly believed it; and they could not believe that he could yet survive. But when a letter came from him that he would shortly come to the camp, even then most of them could not believe

δέους πιστὰ ἐφαίνετο, ἀλλὰ πλάττεσθαι γὰρ πρὸς τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν σωματοφυλάκων τε καὶ στρατηγῶν εἰκάζετο.

XIII. Καὶ ταῦτα ἐννοήσας Ἀλέξανδρος, μή τι νεωτερισθείη ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ, ὅτε πρῶτον ἠδυνήθη κομίζεται ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ὑδραώτου τὰς ὄχθας· καὶ πλέων κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν (ἦν γὰρ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπὶ ταῖς ξυμβολαῖς τοῦ τε Ὑδραώτου καὶ τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου, ἵνα Ἡφαιστίων τε ἐπὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἦν καὶ Νέαρχος τὸ ναυτικὸν αὐτῷ εἶχεν), ὡς ἐπέλαζεν ἡ ναῦς ἤδη τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τὸν βασιλέα φέρουσα, κελεύει δὴ ἀφελεῖν τὴν σκηνὴν ἀπὸ τῆς πρύμνης, ὡς καταφανὴς εἶναι

2 πᾶσιν. Οἱ δὲ ἔτι ἠπίστουν, ὡς νεκροῦ δῆθεν κομιζομένου Ἀλεξάνδρου, πρίν γε δὴ προσσχούσης τῆς νεὼς τῇ ὄχθῃ ὁ μὲν τὴν χεῖρα ἀνέτεινεν ἐς τὸ πλῆθος· οἱ δὲ ἀνεβόησαν, ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνασχόντες τὰς χεῖρας, οἱ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον· πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ δάκρυα ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνελπίστῳ προεχύθη ἀκούσια. Καὶ οἱ μὲν τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν κλίνην προσέφερον αὐτῷ ἐκκομιζομένῳ ἐκ τῆς νεώς· ὁ δὲ τὸν ἵππον προσαγαγεῖν

3 ἐκέλευσεν. Ὡς δὲ ἐπιβὰς τοῦ ἵππου ὤφθη αὖθις, κρότῳ δὴ πολλῷ ἐπεκτύπησεν ἡ στρατιὰ πᾶσα· ἐπήχησαν δὲ αἵ τε ὄχθαι καὶ αἱ πλησίον αὐτῶν νάπαι. Προσάγων δὲ ἤδη τῇ σκηνῇ καταβαίνει ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου, ὥστε καὶ βαδίζων ὀφθῆναι. Οἱ δὲ ἐπέλαζον ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν, οἱ μὲν χειρῶν, οἱ δὲ γονάτων, οἱ δὲ τῆς ἐσθῆτος αὐτῆς ἁπτόμενοι· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἰδεῖν ἐγγύθεν καί τι καὶ ἐπευφημήσαντες ἀπελθεῖν· οἱ δὲ ταινίαις ἔβαλλον, οἱ δὲ ἄνθεσιν, ὅσα ἐν τῷ τότε ἡ Ἰνδῶν γῆ παρεῖχε.

this for excess of fear; but they thought that it was made up by his bodyguards and officers.

XIII. Alexander, learning of this state of things, to prevent any disturbance in the army, was carried, so soon as ever he was able, to the bank of the river Hydraotes; and then sailing down-stream, for the camp was at the junction of the Hydraotes and the Acesines, where Hephaestion was in command of the army and where Nearchus had his fleet, as soon as the boat with the King on board began to draw near to the camp, he ordered the awning to be taken off the stern, so that everyone might see him. But the troops even now disbelieved, saying to themselves that Alexander's dead body was being brought down, till at length, when the ship had put in at the bank, Alexander held up his hand towards the multitude; and they shouted aloud, some holding up their hands to heaven, and others towards Alexander himself; and many involuntary tears were shed in the unexpectedness of their joy. Some of the bodyguard brought a litter for him, as he was being carried out of the ship; but he bade his horse be brought alongside. And when he mounted the horse, and all saw him, the whole army clapped their hands again and again; and the banks and the glens near the banks re-echoed the sound. Then when Alexander drew near his pavilion he dismounted from his horse, so that the army beheld him walking. Then they all ran towards him from this side and that, some touching his hands, some his knees, some his garment; others just looked on him from near at hand, and with a blessing upon him went his way; some cast wreaths upon him, some such flowers as the country of India bare at that time,

4 Νέαρχος δὲ λέγει ὅτι χαλεποὶ αὐτῷ τῶν φίλων
ἐγένοντο ὅσοι ἐκάκιζον ὅτι αὐτὸς πρὸ τῆς στρα-
τιᾶς κινδυνεύοι· οὐ γὰρ στρατηγοῦ ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ
στρατιώτου εἶναι. Καί μοι δοκεῖ ἄχθεσθαι
Ἀλέξανδρος τοῖσδε τοῖς λόγοις, ὅτι ἀληθεῖς τε
ὄντας ἐγίνωσκε καὶ αὑτὸν ὑπαίτιον τῇ ἐπιτιμήσει.
Καὶ ὅμως ὑπὸ μένους τε τοῦ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις καὶ
τοῦ ἔρωτος τῆς δόξης, καθάπερ οἱ ἄλλης τινὸς
ἡδονῆς ἐξηττώμενοι, οὐ καρτερὸς ἦν ἀπέχεσθαι
5 τῶν κινδύνων. Ἄνθρωπον δέ τινα πρεσβύτερον
λέγει Βοιώτιον, τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐ
λέγει, ὡς ἀχθόμενόν τε πρὸς τὰς ἐπιτιμήσεις τῶν
φίλων κατέμαθεν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ ἐσκυθρωπα-
κότα, προσελθόντα τοῦτον βοιωτιάζοντα ἅμα
τῇ φωνῇ ταῦτα φάναι· Ὦ Ἀλέξανδρε, ἀνδρῶν
τὰ ἔργα· καί τι καὶ ἰαμβεῖον ἐπειπεῖν, τὸν δὲ
νοῦν εἶναι τοῦ ἰαμβείου ὅτι τῷ τι δρῶντι καὶ
παθεῖν ἐστιν ὀφειλόμενον. Καὶ τοῦτον ἔν τε τῷ
παραυτίκα εὐδοκιμῆσαι καὶ ἐπιτηδειότερον εἰς τὸ
ἔπειτα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ γενέσθαι.

XIV. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἀφίκοντο παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον
τῶν Μαλλῶν τῶν ὑπολειπομένων πρέσβεις, ἐνδι-
δόντες τὸ ἔθνος, καὶ παρὰ Ὀξυδρακῶν οἵ τε
ἡγεμόνες τῶν πόλεων καὶ οἱ νομάρχαι αὐτοὶ
καὶ ἄλλοι ἅμα τούτοις ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα
οἱ γνωριμώτατοι αὐτοκράτορες περὶ σπονδῶν
δῶρά τε ὅσα μέγιστα παρ' Ἰνδοῖς κομίζοντες
2 καὶ τὸ ἔθνος καὶ οὗτοι ἐνδιδόντες. Συγγνωστὰ
δὲ ἁμαρτεῖν ἔφασαν οὐ πάλαι παρ' αὐτὸν πρεσ-
βευσάμενοι· ἐπιθυμεῖν γάρ, ὥσπερ τινὲς ἄλλοι,
ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτοὶ ἐλευθερίας τε καὶ αὐτόνομοι
εἶναι, ἥντινα ἐλευθερίαν ἐξ ὅτου Διόνυσος ἐς

Nearchus tells us that he was angry with those of his friends who rebuked him for running so great a risk in advance of the army; this, they said, was a soldier's part, not a commander's. My own idea is that Alexander was angry with these reproaches because he knew that they were true and that he had laid himself open to this rebuke. And yet from his enthusiasm in battle, and his passion for glory, he, just as others are overcome by some pleasure, was not strong enough to keep out of dangers. Nearchus goes on to say that an oldish man, a Boeotian—he does not give his name—perceiving that Alexander was angry with his friends' reproaches and showed his indignation in his features, came up to him and in his Boeotian dialect said: "Alexander, noble deeds are men's work"; and added an iambic verse of which the general tenour was "Suffering is the meed of him that doth great deed."[1] The speaker won Alexander's immediate approval and thenceforward his closer friendship.

XIV. At this time came envoys from the rest of the Mallians, offering surrender of the tribe; and from the Oxydracae the governors of the cities and the district governors in person and others of their chief personages, up to the number of a hundred and fifty, as plenipotentiaries to discuss terms, bringing the most precious Indian gifts, and they also offering surrender of their tribe. They urged that their error was pardonable, in that they had not sent envoys earlier; they above all others were desirous to have freedom and to be self-governing; that freedom indeed they had preserved intact from the

[1] From Aeschylus; Fragment 282 (Dindorf).

Ἰνδοὺς ἧκε σῶαν σφίσιν εἶναι ἐς Ἀλέξανδρον· εἰ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δοκοῦν ἐστιν, ὅτι καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀπὸ θεῶν γενέσθαι λόγος κατέχει, σατράπην τε ἀναδέξεσθαι ὅντινα τάττοι Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ φόρους ἀποίσειν τοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δόξαντας· διδόναι δὲ καὶ ὁμήρους ἐθέλειν ὅσους ἂν αἰτῇ
3 Ἀλέξανδρος. Ὁ δὲ χιλίους ᾔτησε τοὺς κρατιστεύοντας τοῦ ἔθνους, οὕς, εἰ μὲν βούλοιτο, ἀντὶ ὁμήρων καθέξειν, εἰ δὲ μή, ξυστρατεύοντας ἕξειν ἔστ' ἂν διαπολεμηθῇ αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἰνδούς. Οἱ δὲ τούς τε χιλίους ἔπεμψαν, τοὺς κρατίστους καὶ μεγίστους σφῶν ἐπιλεξάμενοι, καὶ ἅρματα πεντακόσια οὐκ αἰτηθέντες καὶ τοὺς ἀμβάτας τῶν ἁρμάτων. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ σατράπην μὲν τούτοις τε καὶ τῶν Μαλλῶν τοῖς ἔτι σωζομένοις ἐπέταξε Φίλιππον· τοὺς ὁμήρους δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀφῆκε, τὰ δὲ ἅρματα ἔλαβεν.
4 Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα αὐτῷ κεκόσμητο καὶ πλοῖα ἐπὶ τῇ διατριβῇ τῇ ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος πολλὰ προσενεναυπήγητο, ἀναβιβάσας ἐς τὰς ναῦς τῶν μὲν ἑταίρων ἱππέας ἑπτακοσίους καὶ χιλίους, τῶν ψιλῶν δὲ ὅσουσπερ καὶ πρότερον, πεζοὺς δὲ ἐς μυρίους, ὀλίγον μέν τι τῷ Ὑδραώτῃ ποταμῷ κατέπλευσεν· ὡς δὲ συνέμιξεν ὁ Ὑδραώτης τῷ Ἀκεσίνῃ, ὅτι ὁ Ἀκεσίνης κρατεῖ τοῦ Ὑδραώτου τῇ ἐπωνυμίᾳ, κατὰ τὸν Ἀκεσίνην αὖ ἔπλει, ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν ξυμβολὴν τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου καὶ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ
5 ἧκε. Τέσσαρες γὰρ οὗτοι μεγάλοι ποταμοὶ καὶ ναυσίποροι οἱ τέσσαρες εἰς τον Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν τὸ ὕδωρ ξυμβάλλουσιν, οὐ ξὺν τῇ σφετέρᾳ ἕκαστος ἐπωνυμίᾳ, ἀλλὰ ὁ Ὑδάσπης μὲν ἐς τὸν Ἀκεσίνην ἐμβάλλει, ἐμβαλὼν δὲ τὸ πᾶν ὕδωρ

days when Dionysus came into India up to Alexander; but if it so pleased Alexander, since report had it that Alexander too was descended from gods, they would accept any governor whom Alexander should appoint and would pay such tribute as might seem good to Alexander; and they would give hostages so many as Alexander should require. Alexander demanded a thousand of the chief men of the tribe, whom he should, if he desired, keep as hostages; or if otherwise, should have them serving with his army, till he should finish his wars against the rest of the Indians. They duly sent the thousand men, choosing out the most important and greatest of their tribe, and also, unasked, five hundred chariots, and the drivers of the chariots. And Alexander appointed Philip as satrap over them and the surviving Mallians; he then returned to them the hostages, but retained the chariots.

When he had put all this in order, and as soon as a large number of additional boats had been constructed during the period of his convalescence from the wound, he embarked on the ships seventeen hundred cavalry of the Companions, and of the light-armed troops the same number as before, and up to ten thousand infantry, and sailed a short way down the Hydraotes; but where the Hydraotes joined the Acesines, since there the name Acesines takes precedence over Hydraotes, he sailed down the Acesines, till he came to the meeting of the Acesines and Indus. For these four great rivers, all navigable, pour their waters into the Indus, not each with its original name, but the Hydaspes runs into the Acesines, and pouring in its whole stream accepts

Ἀκεσίνην παρέχεται καλούμενον· αὖθις δὲ ὁ Ἀκεσίνης οὗτος ξυμβάλλει τῷ Ὑδραώτῃ, καὶ παραλαβὼν τοῦτον ἔτι Ἀκεσίνης ἐστί· καὶ τὸν Ὕφασιν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὁ Ἀκεσίνης παραλαβὼν τῷ αὑτοῦ δὴ ὀνόματι ἐς τὸν Ἰνδὸν ἐμβάλλει· ξυμβαλὼν δὲ ξυγχωρεῖ ἤδη τῷ Ἰνδῷ. Ἔνθεν δὴ ὁ Ἰνδὸς πρὶν ἐς τὸ Δέλτα σχισθῆναι οὐκ ἀπιστῶ ὅτι καὶ ἐς ἑκατὸν σταδίους ἔρχεται καὶ ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἑκατὸν τυχὸν ἵναπερ λιμνάζει μᾶλλον.

XV. Ἐνταῦθα ἐπὶ τῇ ξυμβολῇ τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου καὶ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ προσέμενεν ἔστε ἀφίκετο αὐτῷ ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ Περδίκκας, καταστρεψάμενος ἐν παρόδῳ τὸ Ἀβαστανῶν ἔθνος αὐτόνομον. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἄλλαι τε προσγίγνονται Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τριακόντοροι καὶ πλοῖα στρογγύλα ἄλλα, ἃ δὴ ἐν Ξάθροις ἐναυπηγήθη αὐτῷ, οἳ δὴ ἄλλο ἔθνος Ἰνδῶν αὐτόνομον προσεχώρησαν. Καὶ παρὰ Ὀσσαδίων, καὶ τούτου γένους αὐτονόμου Ἰνδικοῦ, πρέσβεις ἧκον, ἐνδιδόντες καὶ οὗτοι τοὺς
2 Ὀσσαδίους. Φιλίππῳ μὲν δὴ τῆς σατραπείας ὅρους ἔταξε τὰς συμβολὰς τοῦ τε Ἀκεσίνου καὶ Ἰνδοῦ, καὶ ἀπολείπει ξὺν αὐτῷ τούς τε Θρᾷκας πάντας καὶ ἐκ τῶν τάξεων ὅσοι ἐς φυλακὴν τῆς χώρας ἱκανοὶ ἐφαίνοντο. Πόλιν τε ἐνταῦθα κτίσαι ἐκέλευσεν ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῇ ξυμβολῇ τοῖν ποταμοῖν, ἐλπίσας μεγάλην τε ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἐπιφανῆ ἐς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ νεωσοίκους ποιη-
3 θῆναι. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Ὀξυάρτης ὁ Βάκτριος, ὁ Ῥωξάνης τῆς γυναικὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου πατήρ, ἧκε παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον· καὶ προστίθησιν αὐτῷ Παραπαμισαδῶν σατραπεύειν, ἀπαλλάξας Τι-

the name Acesines; then again the Acesines meets the Hydraotes, and taking in this tributary remains the Acesines; then next the Acesines takes in the Hyphasis and still in its own name runs into the Indus, but once having done so is merged into the Indus, and thence the Indus, before it splits into its delta, must be, I think, some hundred stades broad, and perhaps more, where it becomes more lake than river.

XV. There at the junction of the Acesines and Indus Alexander remained till Perdiccas joined him with his army, after subduing on his march the independent tribe of Abastanes. At this time also there joined Alexander further thirty-oared ships and other transport vessels, which had been built for him among the Xathrians, who had surrendered to him, being another independent Indian tribe. Envoys came too from the Ossadians, who also are an independent tribe of Indians; they offered the submission of the Ossadians; Alexander then fixed as the boundaries of Philip's satrapy the junction of the Acesines and Indus, and left with him all the Thracians, and from the ordinary brigades such troops as seemed enough to garrison the country. He bade him also found there a city,[1] just at the meeting of the two rivers, having entertained a hope that such a city would become great and famous in the world; he also ordered dockyards to be built. And about this time Oxyartes the Bactrian, father of Roxane, Alexander's wife, came to visit Alexander; and Alexander gave him in addition the satrapy over the Parapamisadae, removing Tiryaspes the former

[1] One of the many Alexandrias. Some think it is the modern Mittun.

ρυάστην τὸν πρόσθεν σατράπην, ὅτι οὐκ ἐν κόσμῳ ἐξηγεῖσθαι αὐτῷ ὁ Τιρυάστης ἐξήγγελτο.

4 Ἔνθα δὴ διαβιβάσας Κρατερόν τε καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς τὴν πολλὴν καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ, ὅτι εὐπορώτερά τε ταύτῃ τὰ παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν στρατιᾷ βαρείᾳ ἐφαίνετο καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ προσοικοῦντα οὐ πάντῃ φίλια ἦν, αὐτὸς κατέπλει ἐς τῶν Σόγδων τὸ βασίλειον. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα πόλιν τε ἐτείχιζεν ἄλλην καὶ νεωσοίκους ἐποίει ἄλλους καὶ τὰ πλοῖα αὐτῷ τὰ πεπονηκότα ἐπεσκευάσθη. Τῆς δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ξυμβολῶν τοῦ τε Ἰνδοῦ καὶ Ἀκεσίνου χώρας ἔστε ἐπὶ θάλασσαν σατράπην ἀπέδειξεν Ὀξυάρτην καὶ Πείθωνα[1] ξὺν τῇ παραλίᾳ πάσῃ τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς.

5 Καὶ Κράτερον μὲν ἐκπέμπει αὖθις ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ [διὰ τῆς Ἀραχώτων καὶ Δράγγων γῆς]·[2] αὐτὸς δὲ κατέπλει ἐς τὴν Μουσικανοῦ ἐπικράτειαν, ἥντινα εὐδαιμονεστάτην τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς εἶναι ἐξηγγέλλετο, ὅτι οὔπω οὔτε ἀπηντήκει αὐτῷ Μουσικανὸς ἐνδιδοὺς αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν χώραν οὔτε πρέσβεις ἐπὶ φιλίᾳ ἐκπέμπει, οὐδέ τι οὔτε αὐτὸς ἐπεπόμφει ἃ δὴ μεγάλῳ βασιλεῖ

6 εἰκός, οὔτε τι ᾐτήκει ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου. Καὶ γίγνεται αὐτῷ ὁ πλοῦς κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐς τοσόνδε ἐσπουδασμένος ὥστε ἔφθη ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁρίοις γενέσθαι τῆς Μουσικανοῦ χώρας πρὶν πυθέσθαι Μουσικανὸν ὅτι ὥρμηται ὡς ἐπ' αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρος. Οὕτω δὴ ἐκπλαγεὶς κατὰ τάχος

[1] Some word perhaps (στρατηγόν) lost after Πείθωνα. But see xvii. 1. A joint rule is possible.

[2] [διὰ . . . γῆς] conflicts with § 7 below; was bracketed by Schmieder.

satrap, since this Tiryaspes was reported to him to be conducting his office in a disorderly manner.

Then Alexander caused Craterus and the greater part of the army and the elephants to be ferried across to the left bank of the river Indus; since the journey along the river-bank seemed easier on that side to heavy troops, and also since the tribes on the river-bank were not everywhere friendly. Then he himself sailed down towards the royal city of Sogdia. There he built and fortified a new city, and made new dockyards, and had his damaged boats refitted. As satrap of the country from the meeting of the Indus and the Acesines up to the sea, with all the coast-line of the country of India, he appointed Oxyartes with Peitho.

Craterus then he sent back again with his army (through the territory of the Arachotians and Drangians) while he himself sailed down-stream towards the kingdom of Musicanus, which was reported to be the richest of all India, since Musicanus had not yet presented himself to surrender himself and his country, nor had sent envoys to establish friendly relations; nor indeed had sent anything at all, as one naturally would to a great King, nor had made any request from Alexander. The voyage down the river proved so swift that he arrived at the borders of Musicanus' realm before Musicanus became aware that Alexander had started in his direction. Amazed then by this swiftness of movement, Musicanus at

ἀπήντα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, δῶρά τε τὰ πλείστου ἄξια ἐν Ἰνδοῖς κομίζων καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ξύμπαντας ἄγων καὶ τὸ ἔθνος τε καὶ αὑτὸν ἐνδιδοὺς καὶ ὁμολογῶν ἀδικεῖν, ὅπερ μέγιστον παρ' Ἀλε-
7 ξάνδρῳ ἦν ἐς τὸ τυχεῖν ὧν τις δέοιτο. Καὶ οὖν καὶ Μουσικανῷ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἄδεια ἐδόθη ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐθαύμασεν Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ τὴν χώραν, καὶ ἄρχειν αὐτῆς Μουσικανῷ ἔδωκε. Κράτερος δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐτάχθη τὴν ἄκραν ἐκτειχίσαι· καὶ παρόντος ἔτι ἐτειχίσθη Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ φυλακὴ κατεστάθη, ὅτι ἐπιτήδειον αὐτῷ ἐφάνη τὸ χωρίον ἐς τὸ κατέχεσθαι τὰ κύκλῳ ἔθνη φυλαττόμενα.

XVI. Ἔνθεν δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τούς τε τοξότας καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ τὴν ἵππον τὴν ἅμα οἷ πλέουσαν ἐξελαύνει ἐπὶ τὸν νομάρχην τῆς ταύτῃ γῆς, ὄνομα δὲ ἦν Ὀξυκανός, ὅτι μήτε αὐτὸς ἀφῖκτο μήτε πρέσβεις παρ' αὐτοῦ ἧκον ἐνδι-
2 δόντες αὑτόν τε καὶ τὴν χώραν. Δύο μὲν δὴ τὰς μεγίστας πόλεις τῶν ὑπὸ τῷ Ὀξυκανῷ ἐξ ἐφόδου κατὰ κράτος ἔλαβεν· ἐν δὲ τῇ ἑτέρᾳ τούτων καὶ αὐτὸς Ὀξυκανὸς ἑάλω. Ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν λείαν τῇ στρατιᾷ δίδωσι, τοὺς ἐλέφαντας δὲ ἅμα οἷ ἦγε. Καὶ ἄλλαι δὲ πόλεις αὐτῷ αἱ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ χώρᾳ ἐνεδίδοντο ἐπιόντι οὐδέ τις ἐτράπετο ἐς ἀλκήν· οὕτω καὶ Ἰνδοὶ πάντες ἐδεδούλωντο ἤδη τῇ γνώμῃ πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου τε καὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τύχης.

3 Ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ Σάμβον αὖ ἦγε, τῶν ὀρείων Ἰνδῶν σατράπην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατασταθέντα, ὃς πεφευ-

once went to meet Alexander, bringing gifts such as are accounted most valuable among the Indians, and leading thither all his elephants; moreover, submitting himself and his people and acknowledging his error, which was the most potent method with Alexander of obtaining what anyone might desire. And, sure enough, Musicanus received pardon from Alexander; and Alexander much admired his country and his capital, and permitted Musicanus to remain sovereign over it. Craterus was ordered to fortify the citadel in this city; and it was so fortified while Alexander was still there, and a garrison was placed there, since the position seemed to Alexander very convenient for keeping a hold over the tribes over which he was keeping watch in the neighbourhood.

XVI. From there Alexander, taking with him the archers and the Agrianes and the cavalry which was sailing with him, made an expedition against the governor of this district, who was named Oxycanus; since he had neither come himself nor had envoys come from him, to surrender himself and his district. Two of the largest cities in Oxycanus' province he took at the first assault, and in the second of these Oxycanus himself was captured. All the plunder Alexander handed over to the army, but the elephants he took away himself. Other cities in the same district surrendered on Alexander's approach, no one resisting, so completely had the spirit of all the Indians been broken by Alexander and Alexander's good fortune.

Next Alexander advanced against Sambus, who had been appointed by himself satrap of the Indian hillmen; he was reported to have made good his

γέναι αὐτῷ ἐξηγγέλλετο ὅτι Μουσικανὸν ἀφει-
μένον πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπύθετο καὶ τῆς χώρας
τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἄρχοντα· τὰ γὰρ πρὸς Μουσικανὸν
4 αὐτῷ πολέμια ἦν. Ὡς δὲ ἐπέλαζεν ἤδη τῇ πόλει
Ἀλέξανδρος ἥντινα μητρόπολιν εἶχεν ἡ τοῦ
Σάμβου χώρα, ὄνομα δὲ ἦν τῇ πόλει Σινδίμανα,
αἵ τε πύλαι αὐτῷ ἀνοίγονται προσάγοντι καὶ οἱ
οἰκεῖοι τοῦ Σάμβου τά τε χρήματα ἀπηρίθμησαν
καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας μετὰ σφῶν ἄγοντες ἀπήντων·
οὐ γὰρ δὴ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ γε πολεμίως ἔχοντα
Σάμβον φυγεῖν, ἀλλὰ Μουσικανοῦ τὴν ἄφεσιν
5 δείσαντα. Ὁ δὲ καὶ ἄλλην πόλιν ἐν τούτῳ
ἀποστᾶσαν εἷλε, καὶ τῶν Βραχμάνων, οἳ δὴ
σοφισταὶ τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς εἰσιν, ὅσοι αἴτιοι τῆς ἀπο-
στάσεως ἐγένοντο ἀπέκτεινεν· ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐγὼ τῆς
σοφίας, εἰ δή τίς ἐστιν, ἐν τῇ Ἰνδικῇ ξυγγραφῇ
δηλώσω.

XVII. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Μουσικανὸς αὐτῷ ἀφεσ-
τάναι ἐξηγγέλλετο. Καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτον μὲν ἐκ-
πέμπει Πείθωνα τὸν Ἀγήνορος σατράπην ξὺν
στρατιᾷ ἀποχρώσῃ. Αὐτὸς δὲ τὰς πόλεις τὰς
ὑπὸ Μουσικανῷ τεταγμένας ἐπελθὼν τὰς μὲν
ἐξανδραποδίσας αὐτῶν κατέσκαψεν, εἰς ἃς δὲ
φρουρὰς εἰσήγαγε καὶ ἄκρας ἐξετείχισε. Ταῦτα
δὲ διαπραξάμενος ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδόν τε ἐπανῆκε
2 καὶ τὸν στόλον. Ἔνθα δὴ Μουσικανός τε
ξυλληφθεὶς ἄγεται πρὸς Πείθωνος, καὶ τοῦτον
κρεμάσαι κελεύει Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν τῇ αὑτοῦ γῇ
καὶ τῶν Βραχμάνων ὅσοι αἴτιοι τῆς ἀποστάσεως
τῷ Μουσικανῷ κατέστησαν· ἀφίκετο δὲ αὐτῷ
καὶ ὁ τῶν Παττάλων τῆς χώρας ἄρχων, ὃ δὴ τὸ
Δέλτα ἔφην εἶναι τὸ πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ

escape on learning that Alexander had forgiven Musicanus and allowed him to continue ruler of his province; for Sambus and Musicanus were at enmity. But when Alexander was now approaching the city which was the capital of Sambus' territory, its name being Sindimana, the gates were opened to him at his coming and the relatives of Sambus counted out his treasure and went to meet Alexander, bringing with them all the elephants; they represented that Sambus' flight had not been due to any ill-will towards Alexander, but he had been frightened at his clemency towards Musicanus. At this same time Alexander captured another city which had rebelled, and he put to death those of the Brachmans, the learned pundits of India, who had been responsible for the revolt. The wisdom of these men, such as it is, I shall discuss in my Indian History.

XVII. In the midst of all this the revolt of Musicanus was announced. Against him Alexander sent Peitho son of Agenor the satrap with a sufficient force. He himself advanced against the cities subject to Musicanus, and of some he sold the inhabitants into slavery, razing the cities to the ground, in others he established garrisons and fortified citadels. Then when he had completed this he returned to his camp and fleet. Hither too Musicanus, now a captive, was brought by Peitho; and Alexander bade them hang him in his own land, together with such of the Brachmans who had been the instigators of Musicanus' revolt. There arrived here also the governor of the territory of Pattala, the territory which I stated to be the delta made

ποιούμενον, μεῖζον ἔτι τοῦ Δέλτα τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου, καὶ οὗτος τήν τε χώραν αὐτῷ ἐνεδίδου πᾶσαν καὶ
3 αὐτόν τε καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ ἐπέτρεψε. Τοῦτον μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ ἀρχῇ ἐκπέμπει αὖθις, παραγγείλας παρασκευάζειν ὅσα ἐς ὑποδοχὴν τῇ στρατιᾷ· αὐτὸς δὲ Κράτερον μὲν τήν τε Ἀττάλου τάξιν ἄγοντα καὶ τὴν Μελεάγρου καὶ Ἀντιγένους καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν ἔστιν οὓς καὶ τῶν ἑταίρων τε καὶ ἄλλων Μακεδόνων ὅσους ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἀπομάχους ὄντας ἤδη ἔστελλε, τὴν ἐπ' Ἀραχώτων καὶ Ζαράγγων ἔπεμπεν ἐς Καρμανίαν, καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας τούτῳ ἄγειν ἔδωκε·
4 τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ στρατιᾷ,[1] ὅση γε μὴ ξὺν αὐτῷ κατέπλει ὡς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, Ἡφαιστίων ἐπετάχθη· Πείθωνα δὲ τούς τε ἱππακοντιστὰς ἄγοντα καὶ τοὺς Ἀγριᾶνας ἐς τὴν ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα ὄχθην τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ διαβιβάσας, οὐχ ᾗπερ Ἡφαιστίων τὴν στρατιὰν ἄγειν ἤμελλε, τάς τε ἐκτετειχισμένας ἤδη πόλεις ξυνοικίσαι ἐκέλευσε καὶ εἰ δή τινα νεωτερίζοιτο πρὸς τῶν ταύτῃ Ἰνδῶν καὶ ταῦτα ἐς κόσμον καταστήσαντα ξυμβάλλειν οἱ ἐς τὰ Πάτταλα.

5 Ἤδη δὲ τρίτην ἡμέραν αὐτῷ τοῦ πλοῦ ἔχοντι ἐξαγγέλλεται ὅτι ὁ τῶν Παττάλων ὕπαρχος ξυλλαβὼν τῶν Παταλέων τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀποδεδρακὼς οἴχοιτο, ἀπολιπὼν τὴν χώραν ἔρημον· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πλείονι ἢ πρόσθεν σπουδῇ κατέπλει Ἀλέξανδρος. Ὡς δὲ ἀφίκετο ἐς τὰ Πάτταλα, τήν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἔρημον καταλαμ-

[1] τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ στρατιᾷ Ellendt: texts give accusatives, which may be retained by supposing a lacuna after θάλασσαν (so Roos).

by the river Indus, greater than the Egyptian delta; he offered in surrender all his territory and committed himself and all that he had to Alexander. Alexander sent him back again to his own realm, bidding him make all ready for the reception of the army; then he despatched Craterus with the brigade of Attalus and those of Meleager and Antigenes, some of the archers, and so many of the Companions and the other Macedonians as he was already sending back to Macedonia as being past service, to go by the road through the Arachotians and Zarangians to Carmania; he also gave Craterus the elephants to take with him. Over the rest of the army Hephaestion was placed in command—except such part of it as was sailing with Alexander himself to the sea; but Peitho, with the mounted javelin-men and the Agrianes, he transported to the other side of the Indus, not that by which Hephaestion was to take his army; he gave orders to Peitho to settle such cities as were already fortified, and deal with any attempted rebellion among the Indians in these parts, and finally meet him at Pattala.

Now when Alexander had been already three days on the voyage, he received news that the chief of Pattala had taken with him the greater number of the tribesmen and had absconded, leaving his country desolate, and on this Alexander sailed down with even greater speed than before. On his arrival at Pattala, he found both city and ter-

βάνει τῶν ἐνοικούντων τε καὶ ἐπεργαζομένων.[1]
6 Ὁ δὲ κατὰ δίωξιν τῶν φευγόντων ἐκπέμψας τῆς στρατιᾶς τοὺς κουφοτάτους, ἐπεί τινες αὐτῶν ξυνελήφθησαν, ἀποπέμπει τούτους παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους, ἐντειλάμενος ἐπανιέναι θαρροῦντας· εἶναι γὰρ αὐτοῖς τήν τε πόλιν οἰκεῖν ὡς πρόσθεν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐργάζεσθαι. Καὶ ἐπανῆλθον οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν.

XVIII. Αὐτὸς δὲ Ἡφαιστίωνι προστάξας τειχίζειν ἐν τοῖς Παττάλοις ἄκραν ἀποπέμπει ἐς τὴν ἄνυδρον τῆς πλησίον γῆς φρέατά τε ὀρύξοντας καὶ οἰκήσιμον τὴν χώραν κατασκευάσοντας. Καὶ τούτοις ἐπέθεντο τῶν προσχώρων τινὲς βαρβάρων. Καὶ ἔστι μὲν οὓς διέφθειραν αὐτῶν ἄφνω προσπεσόντες, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ σφῶν ἀποβαλόντες ἔφυγον ἐς τὴν ἔρημον, ὥστε ἐπιτελεσθῆναι τοῖς ἐκπεμφθεῖσι τὰ ἔργα, προσγενομένης αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄλλης στρατιᾶς, ἣν Ἀλέξανδρος πυθόμενος τῶν βαρβάρων τὴν ἐπίθεσιν ἐστάλκει μεθέξοντας τοῦ ἔργου.

2 Περὶ δὲ τοῖς Παττάλοις σχίζεται τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐς δύο ποταμοὺς μεγάλους, καὶ οὗτοι ἀμφότεροι σώζουσι τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ τὸ ὄνομα ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν. Ἐνταῦθα ναύσταθμόν τε καὶ νεωσοίκους ἐποίει Ἀλέξανδρος. Ὡς δὲ προὐκεχωρήκει αὐτῷ τὰ ἔργα, ὁ δὲ καταπλεῖν ἐπενόει ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ ἐν δεξιᾷ ῥέοντος ποτα-
3 μοῦ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν. Λεόννατον μὲν δή, δοὺς αὐτῷ τῶν τε ἱππέων ἐς χιλίους καὶ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν

[1] ἐπεργ. . . . Polak suggests ἐνεργ. . . ., but one dwells in a city, and works on the land. I retain therefore the MSS. ἐπ-.

ritory empty, both of inhabitants and of labourers. He therefore despatched the lightest of his troops in pursuit of the fugitives, and when some of these had been captured, sent them away to the others, bidding them to come back without fear; for their city was theirs to dwell in as before, and their country was theirs to till. And the greater part of them did come back.

XVIII. Alexander then bade Hephaestion to fortify the citadel in Pattala, and sent out others to the desert parts of the surrounding country to dig wells and to make the country inhabitable. Some of the neighbouring tribesmen, however, set upon this party; some indeed they destroyed, by the suddenness of their attack, but they lost also many of their own number, and fled away into the desert, so that those who had been sent to complete the work did so, another force having joined them, which Alexander, on hearing of the attack of the natives, had sent to help with the work.

At Pattala the stream of the Indus parts into two large rivers, both of these retaining the name "Indus" till they reach the sea. Here Alexander began to build a harbour and dockyards, and when these works had got well advanced, he proposed to sail down to the outlet of the right-hand stream where it joined the sea. He sent therefore Leonnatus, giving him a thousand of the cavalry and

τε καὶ ψιλῶν ἐς ὀκτακισχιλίους, κατὰ τὴν νῆσον τὰ Πάτταλα ἐκπέμπει ἀντιπαράγειν τῷ στόλῳ· αὐτὸς δὲ τὰς μάλιστα τῶν νεῶν ταχυναυτούσας ἀναλαβὼν ὅσαι τε ἡμιόλιαι καὶ τὰς τριακοντόρους πάσας καὶ τῶν κερκούρων ἔστιν οὓς ἔπλει κατὰ
4 τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ. Οὐκ ἔχοντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἡγεμόνα τοῦ πλοῦ, ὅτι πεφεύγεσαν οἱ ταύτῃ Ἰνδοί, ἀπορώτερα τὰ τοῦ κατάπλου ἦν· χειμών τε ἐπιγίγνεται ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀναγωγῆς καὶ ὁ ἄνεμος τῷ ῥόῳ πνέων ὑπεναντίος κοῖλόν τε ἐποίει τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ τὰ σκάφη διέσειεν, ὥστε ἐπόνησαν αὐτῷ αἱ πλεῖσται τῶν νεῶν· τῶν δὲ τριακοντόρων ἔστιν αἳ καὶ πάντῃ διελύθησαν. Ἔφθασαν δὲ ἐποκείλαντες αὐτὰς πρὶν παντάπασι διαπεσεῖν ἐν τῷ ὕδατι. Ἕτεραι οὖν ξυνεπήγνυντο.
5 Καὶ τῶν ψιλῶν τοὺς κουφοτάτους ἐκπέμψας ἐς τὴν προσωτέρω τῆς ὄχθης χώραν ξυλλαμβάνει τινὰς τῶν Ἰνδῶν, καὶ οὗτοι τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἐξηγοῦντο αὐτῷ τὸν πόρον. Ὡς δὲ ἧκον ἵναπερ ἀναχεῖται ἐς εὖρος ὁ ποταμός, ὡς καὶ διακοσίους ταύτῃ σταδίους ἐπέχειν ᾗπερ εὐρύτατος αὐτὸς αὑτοῦ ἦν, τό τε πνεῦμα κατῄει μέγα ἀπὸ τῆς ἔξω θαλάσσης καὶ αἱ κῶπαι ἐν κλύδωνι χαλεπῶς ἀνεφέροντο, ξυμφεύγουσιν αὖ ἐς διώρυχα ἐς ἥντινα οἱ ἡγεμόνες αὐτῷ καθηγήσαντο.

XIX. Ἐνταῦθα ὁρμισάντων τὸ πάθημα ἐπιγίγνεται τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης ἡ ἄμπωτις, ὥστε ἐπὶ ξηροῦ ἀπελείφθησαν αὐτοῖς αἱ νῆες. Καὶ τοῦτο οὔπω πρότερον ἐγνωκόσι τοῖς ἀμφ᾽ Ἀλέξανδρον ἔκπληξιν μὲν καὶ αὐτὸ οὐ σμικρὰν παρέσχε· πολὺ δὲ δὴ ἔτι μείζονα ὁπότε διελ-

about eight thousand of the heavy and light armed troops, to the island of Pattala, to march alongside the fleet. Then Alexander himself, taking the swiftest sailers of his fleet and the ships of one and a half banks of oars, all the thirty-oar ships, and some of the fast galleys,[1] sailed down the right-hand river. But as he had no pilot, since all the Indians of these parts had fled, there were grave difficulties in the descent, and on the day after the fleet weighed, there came a great storm, and the wind blowing contrary to the current made troughs in the stream and battered the flotilla; most of the ships were damaged, and some even of the thirty-oar ships were complete wrecks. They ran them to shore, however, before they were completely shattered. Other ships therefore were built. Then he sent off the lightest of his auxiliary troops to the country on the farther bank to capture some of the Indians, and they for the rest of the way piloted the passage. Then when they came to the broadening of the river, so that it extends at its broadest to two hundred stades, the wind was blowing violently from the ocean and the oars could hardly be lifted in the waves, and they ran for shelter, therefore, into a side channel, to which Alexander's pilots steered them.

XIX. There they anchored, and there followed the usual feature of the ocean, the receding tide; as a result their ships were left high and dry. This Alexander's troops had not before known of, and it caused them no small amazement; but it caused even more when the time passed by and

[1] See above, VI. i. 1. The *κέρκουρος* was a light, and apparently swift, boat.

θούσης τῆς ὥρας προσῄει τε τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὰ
2 σκάφη ἐμετεωρίζοντο. Ὅσας μὲν δὴ τῶν νεῶν ἐν τῷ πηλῷ ἑδραίας κατέλαβεν, αὗται δὲ ἀβλαβῶς τε ἐμετεωρίσθησαν καὶ οὐδὲν χαλεπὸν παθοῦσαι ἔπλεον αὖθις· ὅσαι δὲ ἐν ξηροτέρᾳ τε τῇ γῇ καὶ οὐ βεβαίως γε τὴν στάσιν ἔχουσαι ὑπελείφθησαν, αὗται δὲ ἀθρόου ἐπελθόντος τοῦ κύματος αἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ξυμπεσοῦσαι ἐς ἀλλήλας, αἱ δὲ πρὸς τῇ
3 γῇ ἀραχθεῖσαι ξυνετρίβησαν. Ταῦτά τε οὖν ἐπεσκεύασεν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκ τῶν παρόντων καὶ ἐν κερκούροιν δυοῖν προπέμπει κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν τοὺς κατασκεψομένους τὴν νῆσον ἐς ἥντινα οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ἔφασκον ὁρμιστέα εἶναι αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν τὸν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν· Κίλλουτα δὲ τῇ νήσῳ τὸ ὄνομα ἔλεγον. Ὡς δὲ ἐξηγγέλθη ὅτι ὅρμοι τε ἐν τῇ νήσῳ εἰσὶ καὶ αὐτὴ μεγάλη καὶ ὕδωρ ἔχουσα, ὁ μὲν ἄλλος αὐτῷ στόλος ἐς τὴν νῆσον κατέσχεν· αὐτὸς δὲ ταῖς ἄριστα πλεούσαις τῶν νεῶν ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα προὐχώρει, ὡς ἀπιδεῖν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τὴν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, εἰ
4 παρέχοι τὸν ἔκπλουν εὔπορον. Προελθόντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου σταδίους ὅσον διακοσίους ἀφορῶσιν ἄλλην νῆσον, ταύτην ἤδη ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ. Τότε μὲν δὴ ἐπανῆλθον ἐς τὴν ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ νῆσον, καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἄκροις αὐτῆς καθορμισθεὶς θύει τοῖς θεοῖς Ἀλέξανδρος ὅσοις ἔφασκεν ὅτι παρὰ τοῦ Ἄμμωνος ἐπηγγελμένον ἦν θῦσαι αὐτῷ. Ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν κατέπλει ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν ἄλλην τὴν ἐν τῷ πόντῳ νῆσον· καὶ προσσχὼν καὶ ταύτῃ ἔθυε καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἄλλας αὖ θυσίας ἄλλοις τε θεοῖς καὶ ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ· καὶ ταύτας δὲ κατ'
5 ἐπιθεσπισμὸν θύειν τοῦ Ἄμμωνος. Αὐτὸς δὲ

the tide came up again and the ships floated. Such of the ships as the tide found comfortably settled on the mud floated off unharmed, and sailed once more without sustaining damage; but those that were caught on a drier bottom, and not remaining on an even keel, as the onrushing tide came in all together, either collided one with another, or were dashed upon the ground and shattered. These Alexander repaired as best he could, and then despatched in two of his pinnaces down-stream some of his men to explore the island by which the natives affirmed he must anchor on his voyage down to meet the sea. This island they called Cilluta. The scouts reported that there was good anchorage by the island, and that it was large, with fresh water, so the rest of his fleet put in at the island; but Alexander himself with the best sailers from among his ships went to the far side of the island, to get a view of the outlet of the river into the sea, and see if it offered a safe passage out. So advancing about two hundred stades from the island they sighted a second island, right out in the sea. On this they returned to the river island, and anchoring at a headland upon this island Alexander sacrificed to those gods to which, he used to say, Ammon had ordered him to sacrifice. Then the next day he sailed down to the island in the sea; he put in there too, and sacrificed there other sacrifices to other gods and with different ceremonial; these sacrifices also, he said, he offered in accordance with the oracle given from Ammon. Then passing the

ὑπερβαλὼν τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ τὰς ἐκβολὰς ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἀνέπλει, ὡς μὲν ἔλεγεν, ἀπιδεῖν εἴ πού τις χώρα πλησίον ἀνίσχει ἐν τῷ πόντῳ· ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ, οὐχ ἥκιστα ὡς πεπλευκέναι τὴν μεγάλην τὴν ἔξω Ἰνδῶν θάλασσαν. Ἐνταῦθα ταύρους τε σφάξας τῷ Ποσειδῶνι ἀφῆκεν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ σπείσας ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ τήν τε φιάλην, χρυσῆν οὖσαν, καὶ κρατῆρας χρυσοῦς ἐνέβαλλεν ἐς τὸν πόντον χαριστήρια, εὐχόμενος σῶόν οἱ παραπέμψαι τὸν στρατὸν τὸν ναυτικόν, ὅντινα ξὺν Νεάρχῳ ἐπενόει στέλλειν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν κόλπον τὸν Περσικὸν καὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ τε Εὐφράτου καὶ τοῦ Τίγρητος.

XX. Ἐπανελθὼν δὲ ὀπίσω ἐς τὰ Πάτταλα τήν τε ἄκραν τετειχισμένην καταλαμβάνει καὶ Πείθωνα ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἀφιγμένον καὶ τούτῳ ξύμπαντα καταπεπραγμένα ἐφ᾽ οἶσπερ ἐστάλη. Ἡφαιστίων μὲν δὴ ἐτάχθη παρασκευάζειν τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἐκτειχισμόν τε τοῦ ναυστάθμου καὶ τῶν νεωσοίκων τὴν κατασκευήν· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐπενόει στόλον ὑπολείπεσθαι νεῶν οὐκ ὀλίγων πρὸς τῇ πόλει τοῖς Παττάλοις, ἵναπερ ἐσχίζετο ὁ ποταμὸς ὁ Ἰνδός.

2 Αὐτὸς δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἕτερον στόμα τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ κατέπλει αὖθις ἐς τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν, ὡς καταμαθεῖν ὅπῃ εὐπορωτέρα ἡ ἐκβολὴ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἐς τὸν πόντον γίγνεται· ἀπέχει δὲ ἀλλήλων τὰ στόματα τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἐς σταδίους
3 μάλιστα ὀκτακοσίους καὶ χιλίους. Ἐν δὲ τῷ κατάπλῳ ἀφίκετο τῆς ἐκβολῆς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐς λίμνην μεγάλην, ἥντινα ἀναχεόμενος ὁ ποταμός, τυχὸν δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν πέριξ ὑδάτων ἐμβαλόντων

mouths of the river Indus he set sail to the high seas, to see, as he himself said, if any country stood out, near by, in the ocean; but in my own judgment chiefly that he might have voyaged in the Great Ocean beyond India. Then he sacrificed bulls to Poseidon, and cast them into the sea, and poured, after the sacrifice, a libation; casting also into the sea the cup, a gold one, and golden bowls, as thank-offerings, praying also that Poseidon would safely convey his naval force, which he purposed to despatch under Nearchus towards the Persian Gulf and the mouths of the Euphrates and Tigris.

XX. After this he returned to Pattala, and found the citadel already fortified and Peitho duly arrived with his army, having successfully accomplished his whole mission. Hephaestion was now ordered to get ready everything necessary for the fortifying of the harbour and for the building of the dock-yards; for Alexander purposed to leave behind there a fleet of several ships at the city of Pattala, where the river Indus divided.

Then Alexander sailed down to the ocean again by the other mouth of the Indus, to learn by which branch the outlet of the Indus to the ocean was safer; these mouths of the river Indus are eighteen hundred stades apart from one another. And in the descent of the river he arrived at a great lake not far from the river outlet; this the river as it spreads—and possibly also from the other neigh-

ἐς αὐτήν, μεγάλην τε ποιεῖ καὶ κόλπῳ θαλάσσης μάλιστα ἐοικυῖαν· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἰχθύες ἤδη ἐν αὐτῇ τῶν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐφαίνοντο μείζονες τῶν ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ θαλάσσῃ. Προσορμισθεὶς οὖν κατὰ τὴν λίμνην ἵναπερ οἱ καθηγεμόνες ἐξηγοῦντο, τῶν μὲν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς καταλείπει σὺν Λεοννάτῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς κερκού-
4 ρους ξύμπαντας. Αὐτὸς δὲ ταῖς τριακοντόροις τε καὶ ἡμιολίαις ὑπερβαλὼν τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ καὶ προελθὼν καὶ ταύτῃ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, εὐπορωτέραν τε κατέμαθε τὴν ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἐκβολήν, καὶ αὐτὸς προσορμισθεὶς τῷ αἰγιαλῷ καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τινὰς ἅμα οἷ ἔχων παρὰ θάλασσαν ᾔει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς, τήν τε χώραν ὁποία τίς ἐστιν ἡ ἐν τῷ παράπλῳ ἐπισκεπτόμενος καὶ φρέατα ὀρύσσεσθαι κελεύων, ὅπως ἔχοιεν ὑδρεύεσ-
5 θαι οἱ πλέοντες. Αὐτὸς μὲν δὴ ἐπανελθὼν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἀνέπλει ἐς τὰ Πάτταλα· μέρος δέ τι τῆς στρατιᾶς τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα ἐργασομένους κατὰ τὴν παραλίαν ἔπεμψεν, ἐπανιέναι καὶ τούτοις προστάξας ἐς τὰ Πάτταλα. Αὖθις δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην καταπλεύσας ἄλλον ναύσταθμον καὶ ἄλλους νεωσοίκους ἐνταῦθα κατεσκεύασε, καὶ φυλακὴν καταλιπὼν τῷ χωρίῳ σῖτόν τε ὅσον καὶ ἐς τέσσαρας μῆνας ἐξαρκέσαι τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐπηγάγετο καὶ τἆλλα ὅσα ἐν τῷ παράπλῳ[1] παρεσκεύασεν.

XXI. Ἦν δὲ ἐν μὲν τῷ τότε ἄπορος ἡ ὥρα ἐς τὸν πλοῦν· οἱ γὰρ ἐτήσιοι ἄνεμοι κατεῖχον, οἳ

[1] Roos ἐσηγ. and omits ἐν. But ὅσα ἐν τῷ παράπλῳ is a brachylogy in Arrian's manner.

bouring streams which run into it—enlarges so that it most resembles a gulf of the sea; in fact ocean fishes were already to be seen in it, bigger than those in our own sea. Anchoring, therefore, at a point in the lake where the pilots advised him, he left behind the greater part of his troops there with Leonnatus, and all the light galleys. Then he himself, with the ships of thirty oars, and those with one and a half banks of oarsmen, passed beyond the outlet of the Indus, and proceeding by this passage also reached the sea; discovering that the passage by this branch of the Indus was an easier one. He then anchored by the shore, and taking with him some of the cavalry went three days' march along the coast, observing the nature of the country for the coasting voyage, and ordering wells to be dug, so that as they sailed along they might be able to get water. Then he himself returned to his ships and sailed back to Pattala; and sent part of his army along the foreshore to carry on this same work, bidding them also return to Pattala. Then once more he sailed down to the lake, and built another harbour and other dockyards; and leaving there a garrison, collected four months' supplies for his army and made all other necessary preparations for the voyage.

XXI. The season, however, was not suitable for sailing; for the trade winds[1] were blowing con-

[1] The south-west monsoon.

δὴ τῇ ὥρᾳ ἐκείνῃ οὐ καθάπερ παρ' ἡμῖν ἀπ' ἄρκτου, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης κατὰ
2 νότον μάλιστα ἄνεμον ἵστανται. Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ ἀπὸ Πλειάδων δύσεως ἔστε ἐπὶ τροπὰς ἃς ἐν χειμῶνι ὁ ἥλιος ἐπιστρέφει πλόϊμα εἶναι ταύτῃ ἐξηγγέλλετο· τότε γὰρ κατὰ γῆν μᾶλλον, οἷα δὴ πολλῷ ὕδατι ἐξ οὐρανοῦ βεβρεγμένην, αὔρας ἵστασθαι μαλθακὰς καὶ ἐς τὸν παράπλουν ταῖς τε κώπαις καὶ τοῖς ἱστίοις ξυμμέτρους.

3 Νέαρχος μὲν δὴ ἐπιταχθεὶς τῷ ναυτικῷ προσέμενε τὴν ὥραν τοῦ παράπλου· αὐτὸς δὲ ἄρας ἐκ Παττάλων ἔστε μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Ἀράβιον ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ πάσῃ προὐχώρει. Ἐκεῖθεν δέ, ἀναλαβὼν τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν τε καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν τοὺς ἡμίσεας καὶ τῶν πεζεταίρων[1] καλουμένων τὰς τάξεις καὶ τῆς ἵππου τῆς ἑταιρικῆς τό τε ἄγημα καὶ ἴλην ἀφ' ἑκάστης ἱππαρχίας καὶ τοὺς ἱπποτοξότας σύμπαντας, ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἐτράπετο, ὕδατά τε ὀρύσσειν, ὡς κατὰ τὸν παράπλουν ἄφθονα εἴη[2] τῇ στρατιᾷ τῇ παραπλεούσῃ καὶ ἅμα ὡς τοῖς Ὠρείταις τοῖς ταύτῃ Ἰνδοῖς, αὐτονόμοις ἐκ πολλοῦ οὖσιν, ἄφνω ἐπιπεσεῖν, ὅτι μηδὲν φίλιον αὐτοῖς ἐς αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπέπρακτο. Τῆς δὲ ὑπολειφθεί-
4 σης δυνάμεως Ἡφαιστίων αὐτῷ ἀφηγεῖτο. Ἀραβῖται μὲν δή, ἔθνος καὶ τοῦτο αὐτόνομον τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀράβιον ποταμὸν νεμομένων, οὔτε ἀξιόμαχοι δόξαντες εἶναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ οὔτε ὑποδῦναι ἐθελήσαντες, ὡς προσάγοντα ἐπύθοντο Ἀλέξανδρον,

[1] A here as elsewhere ἀσθεταίρων.
[2] A εἰ, Roos εἴη.

tinuously, which in that season blow not, as with us, from the north, but from the ocean and from the south. But from the beginning of winter, right from the setting of the Pleiads to the winter solstice, it was reported that the ocean here was fit for navigation; for then, as would be when the land is drenched with heavy rains, there are light land breezes, convenient for the coasting voyage whether by oars or sails.

Nearchus, then, the admiral of the fleet, awaited the season for the voyage. But Alexander leaving Pattala advanced with his entire force as far as the river Arabius; and thence, taking with him half the bodyguards and the archers and the brigades of the Companions, as they were called, the special squadron of the Companions' cavalry, and a squadron from each cavalry regiment, together with all the mounted archers, turned towards the ocean, keeping it on his left, in order to dig wells, so that there might be plenty of water for the army which was sailing along the coast, and also with the intention of making a surprise attack on the Oreitans, the Indian tribe in these parts, who had long been independent, since they had failed to make any friendly overtures to Alexander and his troops. Hephaestion was in command of such part of the army as Alexander had left behind. The Arabitae, however, also an independent tribe of the Indians who dwell about the river Arabius, thinking they were no match for Alexander, and yet not wishing to surrender, when they learned that

φεύγουσιν ἐς τὴν ἔρημον. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ διαβὰς
τὸν Ἀράβιον ποταμόν, στενόν τε καὶ ὀλίγου
ὕδατος, καὶ διελθὼν ἐν νυκτὶ τῆς ἐρήμου τὴν
πολλήν, ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω πρὸς τῇ οἰκουμένῃ ἦν· καὶ
τοὺς μὲν πεζοὺς ἐν τάξει ἐκέλευσεν ἕπεσθαι, τοὺς
δὲ ἱππέας ἀναλαβὼν αὐτὸς καὶ ἐς ἴλας κατα-
νείμας, ὅπως ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τοῦ πεδίου ἐπέχοιεν,
5 ἐπῄει τὴν χώραν τῶν Ὠρειτῶν. Ὅσοι μὲν δὴ
ἐς ἀλκὴν ἐτράποντο αὐτῶν κατεκόπησαν πρὸς
τῶν ἱππέων· πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ζῶντες ἑάλωσαν.
Ὁ δὲ τότε μὲν κατεστρατοπέδευσε πρὸς οὐ πολλῷ
ὕδατι· ὡς δὲ καὶ οἱ περὶ Ἡφαιστίωνα αὐτῷ ὁμοῦ
ἤδη ἦσαν, προὐχώρει ἐς τὸ πρόσω. Ἀφικόμενος
δὲ ἐς κώμην ἥπερ ἦν μεγίστη τοῦ ἔθνους τοῦ
Ὠρειτῶν, Ῥαμβακία ἐκαλεῖτο ἡ κώμη, τόν τε
χῶρον ἐπῄνεσε καὶ ἐδόκει ἂν αὐτῷ πόλις ξυνοι-
κισθεῖσα μεγάλη καὶ εὐδαίμων γενέσθαι. Ἡφαι-
στίωνα μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὑπελείπετο.

XXII. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν αὖθις τῶν ὑπασ-
πιστῶν καὶ τῶν Ἀγριάνων τοὺς ἡμίσεας καὶ τὸ
ἄγημα τῶν ἱππέων καὶ τοὺς ἱπποτοξότας προῄει
ὡς ἐπὶ τὰ ὅρια τῶν τε Γαδρωσῶν καὶ Ὠρειτῶν,
ἵναπερ στενή τε ἡ πάροδος αὐτῷ εἶναι ἐξηγγέλ-
λετο καὶ οἱ Ὠρεῖται τοῖς Γαδρωσοῖς ξυντεταγ-
μένοι πρὸ τῶν στενῶν στρατοπεδεύειν, ὡς
2 εἵρξοντες τῆς παρόδου Ἀλέξανδρον. Καὶ ἦσαν
μὲν ταύτῃ τεταγμένοι· ὡς δὲ προσάγων ἤδη
ἐξηγγέλλετο, οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ ἔφυγον ἐκ τῶν
στενῶν λιπόντες τὴν φυλακήν· οἱ δὲ ἡγεμόνες
τῶν Ὠρειτῶν ἀφίκοντο παρ᾽ αὐτὸν σφᾶς τε
αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸ ἔθνος ἐνδιδόντες. Τούτοις μὲν
δὴ προστάττει, ξυγκαλέσαντας τὸ πλῆθος τῶν

Alexander was approaching, fled into the desert. Alexander, however, crossed the river Arabius, a narrow river with a small stream, traversed a considerable part of the desert by night, and at dawn was close to the inhabited region. Here he ordered his infantry to follow in marching order, but the cavalry he took with him and divided into squadrons, that they might cover the greatest extent of country, and thus invaded the territory of the Oreitans. Such of them as offered resistance were cut down by the cavalry, and many were captured alive. For the time being, then, Alexander encamped by a small stream; but on being joined by Hephaestion and his troops, he advanced further. Then arriving at a village which was the largest village of the Oreitans, called Rambacia, he was impressed with the position, and felt that a city founded there would become great and prosperous. He left behind Hephaestion, therefore, to attend to this.

XXII. Then Alexander, taking with him again half the bodyguards and the Agrianes, the special squadron of the cavalry, and the mounted archers, advanced towards the borders of the Gadrosians and the Oreitans, where it was reported that the approach was by a defile, and that the Gadrosians and Oreitans had joined together and were encamped at the mouth of the defile to check Alexander's approach. They were, in fact, arrayed there; but when news was brought that he was nearing them, the greater part of them fled from the defile, deserting their post; but the chiefs of the Oreitans came to Alexander surrendering themselves and their nation. These he commanded to call together the bulk of the Oreitans and send

Ὠρειτῶν πέμπειν ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα ἤθη, ὡς δεινὸν οὐδὲν πεισομένους· σατράπην δὲ καὶ τούτοις
3 ἐπιτάσσει Ἀπολλοφάνην. Καὶ ξὺν τούτῳ ἀπολείπει Λεόννατον τὸν σωματοφύλακα ἐν Ὤροις, ἔχοντα τούς τε Ἀγριᾶνας ξύμπαντας καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν ἔστιν οὓς καὶ τῶν ἱππέων καὶ ἄλλους πεζούς τε καὶ ἱππέας Ἕλληνας μισθοφόρους, καὶ τό τε ναυτικὸν ὑπομένειν ἔστ' ἂν περιπλεύσῃ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ξυνοικίζειν καὶ τὰ κατὰ τοὺς Ὠρείτας κοσμεῖν, ὅπως μᾶλλόν τι προσέχοιεν τῷ σατράπῃ τὸν νοῦν. Αὐτὸς δὲ ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ τῇ πολλῇ (καὶ γὰρ καὶ Ἡφαιστίων ἀφίκετο ἄγων αὐτῷ τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας) προὐχώρει ὡς ἐπὶ Γαδρωσοὺς ἔρημον τὴν πολλήν.

4 Καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ταύτῃ λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος σμύρνης πολλὰ δένδρα πεφυκέναι μείζονα ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην σμύρναν· καὶ τοὺς Φοίνικας τοὺς κατ' ἐμπορίαν τῇ στρατιᾷ ξυνεπομένους ξυλλέγοντας τὸ δάκρυον τῆς σμύρνης (πολὺ γὰρ εἶναι, οἷα δὴ ἐκ μεγάλων τε τῶν πρέμνων καὶ οὔπω πρόσθεν ξυλλελεγμένον) ἐμπλήσαντας τὰ ὑποζύγια ἄγειν.
5 Ἔχειν δὲ τὴν ἔρημον ταύτην καὶ νάρδου ῥίζαν πολλήν τε καὶ εὔοδμον· καὶ ταύτην ξυλλέγειν τοὺς Φοίνικας· πολὺ δὲ εἶναι αὐτῆς τὸ καταπατούμενον πρὸς τῆς στρατιᾶς, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πατουμένου ὀδμὴν ἡδεῖαν κατέχειν ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς
6 χώρας· τοσόνδε εἶναι τὸ πλῆθος. Εἶναι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα δένδρα ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, τὸ μέν τι δάφνῃ ἐοικὸς τὸ φύλλον, καὶ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς προσκλυζομένοις τῇ θαλάσσῃ χωρίοις πεφυκέναι· καὶ ἀπολείπεσθαι μὲν τὰ δένδρα πρὸς τῆς ἀμπώτεως ἐπὶ ξηροῦ, ἐπελθόντος δὲ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ πεφυ-

them home, with the assurance that they would suffer no harm; as satrap over them he appointed Apollophanes. Together with him he left behind Leonnatus, the officer of the bodyguard, in the country of the Orians, with all the Agrianes, some of the archers and of the cavalry, and a considerable body besides of Greek mercenary infantry and cavalry; Leonnatus was to await the fleet, until it made its voyage past this district, to build the city, and to put everything in good order in the country of the Oreitans, so that they might more diligently obey their satrap. Then he himself with the larger part of his army, for Hephaestion had arrived, with the party which had been left behind, proceeded towards the Gadrosians, through country which for the most part was desert.

In this desert Aristobulus says that many myrrh trees grow, a good deal taller than the ordinary myrrh. The Phoenicians who followed the army as traders collected the gum of the myrrh, for it was abundant, coming from such large trunks and never having been gathered before, and loaded up their pack-mules with it. This desert also has a root of spikenard, plentiful and fragrant; this too the Phoenicians gathered; a good deal of it also was trodden underfoot by the army, and from such as was trodden there a delightful fragrance was wafted for some distance over the country, so abundant was it. There are also other trees in the desert, one with a leaf like laurel, and this grows in places which are washed by the sea; the trees are left high and dry by the receding tide, but when the tide returns, they appear growing in the sea;

κότα φαίνεσθαι· τῶν δὲ καὶ ἀεὶ τὰς ῥίζας τῇ θαλάσσῃ ἐπικλύζεσθαι, ὅσα ἐν κοίλοις χωρίοις ἐπεφύκει, ἔνθενπερ οὐχ ὑπενόστει τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ ὅμως οὐ διαφθείρεσθαι τὸ δένδρον πρὸς τῆς
7 θαλάσσης. Εἶναι δὲ τὰ δένδρα ταύτῃ πήχεων καὶ τριάκοντα ἔστιν ἃ αὐτῶν, τυχεῖν τε ἀνθοῦντα ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ, καὶ τὸ ἄνθος εἶναι τῷ λευκῷ μάλιστα ἴῳ προσφερές, τὴν ὀδμὴν δὲ πολύ τι ὑπερφέρον. Καὶ ἄλλον εἶναι καυλὸν ἐκ γῆς πεφυκότα ἀκάνθης, καὶ τούτῳ ἐπεῖναι ἰσχυρὰν τὴν ἄκανθαν, ὥστε ἤδη τινῶν καὶ παριππευόντων ἐμπλακεῖσαν τῇ ἐσθῆτι κατασπάσαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου μᾶλλόν τι τὸν ἱππέα ἢ αὐτὴν ἀποσχισθῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ
8 καυλοῦ. Καὶ τῶν λαγῶν λέγεται ὅτι παραθεόντων ἔχονται ἐν ταῖς θριξὶν αἱ ἄκανθαι, καὶ οὕτω τοι ἡλίσκοντο οἱ λαγῴ, καθαπερ ὑπὸ ἰξοῦ αἱ ὄρνιθες ἢ τοῖς ἀγκίστροις οἱ ἰχθύες· σιδήρῳ δὲ ὅτι διακοπῆναι οὐ χαλεπὴ ἦν· καὶ ὀπὸν ὅτι ἀνίει πολὺν ὁ καυλὸς τῆς ἀκάνθης τεμνομένης, ἔτι πλείονα ἢ αἱ συκαῖ τοῦ ἦρος καὶ δριμύτερον.

XXIII. Ἔνθεν δὲ διὰ τῆς Γαδρωσῶν χώρας ἤει ὁδὸν χαλεπὴν καὶ ἄπορον τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ ὕδωρ πολλαχοῦ τῇ στρατιᾷ οὐκ ἦν· ἀλλὰ νύκτωρ ἠναγκάζοντο γῆν πολλὴν πορεύεσθαι καὶ προσωτέρω ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ γε ἐν σπουδῇ ἦν ἐπελθεῖν τὰ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν τῆς χώρας καὶ λιμένας τε ἰδεῖν τοὺς ὄντας καὶ ὅσα γε ἐν παρόδῳ δυνατὰ γένοιτο τῷ ναυτικῷ παρασκευάσαι, ἢ φρέατα ὀρύξαντας ἢ
2 ἀγορᾶς που ἢ ὅρμου ἐπιμεληθέντας. Ἀλλὰ ἦν γὰρ ἔρημα παντάπασι τὰ πρὸς τῇ θαλάσσῃ τῆς Γαδρωσῶν γῆς, ὁ δὲ Θόαντα τὸν Μανδροδώρου

of some, which grow in hollow places, the roots are always washed by the sea, where the water does not recede, and yet the tree is not spoiled by the sea water. The trees here are sometimes even thirty cubits high, and at that season they were in flower, the flower being very like a white violet, but of a very much sweeter perfume. There is also a thistle on a long stalk growing out of the soil, and the spike on this stalk is so strong that once and again when they were riding past it caught the rider's clothes, and pulled him from his horse rather than come away from its stalk. They say that the hares as they run through get their fur caught in the thistles, and so in fact are captured, just as birds with bird-lime or fishes with hooks; but it was fairly easy to cut through with an axe; and the stalk of this thistle when cut gives out considerable juice more abundant and sharper to taste than that of figs in spring.

XXIII. From there Alexander went on through the country of the Gadrosians by a route both difficult and lacking in supplies; in especial, the army often found no water; but they were obliged to traverse a considerable part of the country by night, and at a greater distance from the sea; Alexander himself desiring to work along the sea-coast to see such harbours as there were and to get ready what conveniences were possible for the navy, either by digging wells, or making provision for a market or an anchorage. But the Gadrosian country was entirely desert along the coast-line, so he sent Thoas son of

καταπέμπει ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ξὺν ὀλίγοις ἱππεῦσι,
κατασκεψόμενον εἴ πού τις ὅρμος ὢν τυγχάνει
ταύτῃ ἢ ὕδωρ οὐ πόρρω ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἤ τι
3 ἄλλο τῶν ἐπιτηδείων. Καὶ οὗτος ἐπανελθὼν
ἀπήγγειλεν ἁλιέας τινὰς καταλαβεῖν ἐπὶ τοῦ
αἰγιαλοῦ ἐν καλύβαις πνιγηραῖς· πεποιῆσθαι δὲ
τὰς καλύβας ξυνθέντας τὰς κόγχας· στέγην δὲ
εἶναι αὐταῖς τὰς ἀκάνθας τῶν ἰχθύων· καὶ τού-
τους τοὺς ἁλιέας ὕδατι ὀλίγῳ διαχρῆσθαι,
χαλεπῶς διαμωμένους τὸν κάχληκα, καὶ οὐδὲ
τούτῳ πάντῃ γλυκεῖ τῷ ὕδατι.
4 Ὡς δὲ ἀφίκετο Ἀλέξανδρος ἐς χῶρόν τινα τῆς
Γαδρωσίας ἵνα ἀφθονώτερος ἦν σῖτος, διανέμει
ἐς τὰ ὑποζύγια τὸν καταληφθέντα· καὶ τοῦτον
σημηνάμενος τῇ ἑαυτοῦ σφραγῖδι, κατακομίζεσθαι
κελεύει ὡς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν. Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ᾔει ὡς ἐπὶ
τὸν σταθμὸν ἔνθενπερ ἐγγυτάτω ἦν ἡ θάλασσα,
ἐν τούτῳ ὀλίγα φροντίσαντες οἱ στρατιῶται τῆς
σφραγῖδος αὐτοί τε οἱ φύλακες τῷ σίτῳ ἐχρή-
σαντο καὶ ὅσοι μάλιστα λιμῷ ἐπιέζοντο καὶ
5 τούτοις μετέδωκαν. Ἐς τοσόνδε πρὸς τοῦ κακοῦ
ἐνικῶντο ὡς τὸν πρόδηλον καὶ παρόντα ἤδη
ὄλεθρον τοῦ ἀφανοῦς τε καὶ πρόσω ἔτι ὄντος ἐκ
τοῦ βασιλέως κινδύνου ξὺν λογισμῷ ἔδοξε σφίσιν
ἔμπροσθεν ποιήσασθαι. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος κατα-
μαθὼν τὴν ἀνάγκην συνέγνω τοῖς πράξασιν.
Αὐτὸς δὲ ὅσα ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐπιδραμὼν ξυνα-
γαγεῖν ἠδυνήθη εἰς ἐπισιτισμὸν τῇ στρατιᾷ τῇ
περιπλεούσῃ σὺν τῷ στόλῳ, ταῦτα κομίσοντα
6 πέμπει Κρηθέα τὸν Καλλατιανόν. Καὶ τοῖς
ἐγχωρίοις προσετάχθη ἐκ τῶν ἄνω τόπων σῖτόν
τε ὅσον δυνατοὶ ἦσαν κατακομίσαι ἀλέσαντας

Mandrodorus to the sea with a few cavalry, to see if there was any anchorage possible in this direction, or water near the sea, or any other necessary. And he returned and reported that he had found some fishermen on the beach in stifling cabins, made out of shells fixed together, and for a roofing the backbones of fishes; but that these fishermen used little fresh water, and this they dug from the gravel, and even that was not always fresh.

But when Alexander arrived at a certain place in Gadrosia where provisions were more plentiful, he distributed what he obtained among the baggage trains; and this he sealed with his own seal, and bade them convey it to the sea. But while he was going towards the halting-place from which the sea was nearest, the troops, making light of this seal—even the guards themselves—used these provisions and gave shares also to those most beset by hunger. So far were they overcome by their distress that they thought right to consider their obvious and immediate ruin before the yet uncertain and distant danger from their King. Indeed, Alexander, on learning of the grave necessity, pardoned the offenders. Then he by overrunning the district got together what provisions he could for the army which was sailing with the fleet, and sent Cretheus of Callatis to convoy it. The inhabitants also were commanded to bring down provisions from the interior, grinding as much

καὶ τὰς βαλάνους τὰς τῶν φοινίκων καὶ πρόβατα ἐς ἀγορὰν τῷ στρατῷ. Καὶ ἐς ἄλλον αὖ τόπον Τήλεφον κατέπεμψε τῶν ἑταίρων σὺν σίτῳ οὐ πολλῷ ἀληλεσμένῳ.

XXIV. Αὐτὸς δὲ προὐχώρει ὡς ἐπὶ τὰ βασίλεια τῶν Γαδρωσῶν, ὁ δὲ χῶρος Ποῦρα ὀνομάζεται, ἵναπερ ἀφίκετο ἐξ Ὥρων ὁρμηθεὶς ἐν ἡμέραις ταῖς πάσαις ἑξήκοντα. Καὶ λέγουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ξυγγραψάντων τὰ ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον οὐδὲ τὰ ξύμπαντα ὅσα ἐταλαιπώρησεν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἡ στρατιὰ ξυμβληθῆναι
2 ἄξια εἶναι τοῖς τῇδε πονηθεῖσι πόνοις. Οὐ μὴν ἀγνοήσαντα Ἀλέξανδρον τῆς ὁδοῦ τὴν χαλεπότητα, ταύτῃ ἐλθεῖν (τοῦτο μὲν μόνος Νέαρχος λέγει ὧδε), ἀλλὰ ἀκούσαντα γὰρ ὅτι οὔπω τις πρόσθεν διελθὼν ταύτῃ ξὺν στρατιᾷ ἀπεσώθη ὅτι μὴ Σεμίραμις ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἔφυγε· καὶ ταύτην δὲ ἔλεγον οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ξὺν εἴκοσι μόνοις τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀποσωθῆναι· Κῦρον δὲ τὸν Καμβύσου σὺν
3 ἑπτὰ μόνοις καὶ τοῦτον. Ἐλθεῖν γὰρ δὴ καὶ Κῦρον ἐς τοὺς χώρους τούτους ὡς ἐσβαλοῦντα ἐς τὴν Ἰνδῶν γῆν, φθάσαι δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐρημίας τε καὶ ἀπορίας τῆς ὁδοῦ ταύτης ἀπολέσαντα τὴν πολλὴν τῆς στρατιᾶς. Καὶ ταῦτα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐξαγγελλόμενα ἔριν ἐμβαλεῖν πρὸς Κῦρον καὶ Σεμίραμιν. Τούτων τε οὖν ἕνεκα καὶ ἅμα ὡς τῷ ναυτικῷ ἐγγύθεν ἐκπορίζεσθαι τὰ ἀναγκαῖα, λέγει Νέαρχος ταύτην τραπῆναι Ἀλέξανδρον.
4 Τό τε οὖν καῦμα ἐπιφλέγον καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος τὴν ἀπορίαν πολλὴν τῆς στρατιᾶς διαφθεῖραι καὶ μάλιστα δὴ τὰ ὑποζύγια· ταῦτα μὲν δὴ πρὸς τοῦ βάθους τε τῆς ψάμμου καὶ τῆς θέρμης, ὅτι

corn as they could, with dates from the palm trees, and sheep for the army to purchase, and he sent Telephus also, one of the Companions, to another place with a small supply of ground corn.

XXIV. Then Alexander advanced towards the Gadrosian capital; the district is called Pura; and he arrived there from the district of the Orians in a total of sixty days. Most of the histories of Alexander affirm that not even all the trials that his army endured in Asia were worthy to be compared with the miseries they suffered here. It was not because Alexander had no knowledge of the difficulty of the route that he went that way (it is Nearchus alone who says so); but rather that he had heard that no one yet had successfully come through this way with an army, except that Semiramis had fled this way from India. The natives had a tradition that even she only escaped with twenty of her whole force; Cyrus son of Cambyses had got through with only seven survivors. For Cyrus did come into these parts intending to invade the country of India; but before he could do so he lost the greater part of his army by the barrenness and difficulty of this route. The relation of these stories to Alexander inspired him with emulation towards Cyrus and Semiramis. It was, then, on this account, and also that, being close to the fleet he might supply it with provisions, that, according to Nearchus, he chose this route. At any rate, the heat of the sun beating down and the want of water destroyed a great part of the army, and especially of course the baggage animals; for they, from the depth of the sand and its heat, for it

κεκαυμένη ἦν, τὰ πολλὰ δὲ καὶ δίψει ἀπόλλυσθαι· καὶ γὰρ καὶ γηλόφοις ἐπιτυγχάνειν ὑψηλοῖς ψάμμου βαθείας, οὐ νεναγμένης, ἀλλ' οἵας δέχεσθαι καθάπερ ἐς πηλὸν ἢ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐς
5 χιόνα ἀπάτητον ἐπιβαίνοντας. Καὶ ἅμα ἐν ταῖς προσβάσεσί τε καὶ καταβαίνοντας τούς τε ἵππους καὶ τοὺς ἡμιόνους ἔτι μᾶλλον κακοπαθεῖν τῷ ἀνωμάλῳ τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ ἅμα οὐ βεβαίῳ. Τῶν δὲ σταθμῶν τὰ μήκη πιέσαι οὐχ ἥκιστα τὴν στρατιάν· ἀπορία γὰρ ὕδατος οὐ ξύμμετρος[1] οὖσα μᾶλλόν τι ἦγε πρὸς ἀνάγκην τὰς πορείας
6 ποιεῖσθαι. Ὁπότε μὲν δὴ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπελθόντες τὴν ὁδὸν ἥντινα ἀνύσαι ἐχρῆν ἕωθεν πρὸς ὕδωρ ἔλθοιεν, οὐ πάντῃ ἐταλαιπωροῦντο· προχωρούσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ὑπὸ μήκους τῆς ὁδοῦ, εἰ ὁδοιποροῦντες ἔτι ἐγκαταληφθεῖεν, ἐνταῦθα ἂν ἐταλαιπώρουν πρὸς τοῦ καύματός τε καὶ ἅμα δίψει ἀπαύστῳ συνεχόμενοι.

XXV. Τῶν δὲ δὴ ὑποζυγίων πολὺς ὁ φθόρος καὶ ἑκούσιος τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐγίγνετο· ξυνιόντες γάρ, ὁπότε ἐπιλείποι σφᾶς τὰ σιτία, καὶ τῶν ἵππων τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀποσφάζοντες καὶ τῶν ἡμιόνων τὰ κρέα ἐσιτοῦντο, καὶ ἔλεγον δίψει ἀποθανεῖν αὐτοὺς ἢ ὑπὸ καμάτου ἐκλιπόντας· καὶ ὁ τὴν ἀτρέκειαν τοῦ ἔργου ἐξελέγξων ὑπό τε τοῦ πόνου οὐδεὶς ἦν καὶ ὅτι ξύμπαντες τὰ αὐτὰ ἥμαρτανον.
2 Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον μὲν οὐκ ἐλελήθει τὰ γιγνόμενα, ἴασιν δὲ τῶν παρόντων ἑώρα τὴν τῆς ἀγνοίας προσποίησιν μᾶλλόν τι ἢ τὴν ὡς γιγνωσκομένων ἐπιχώρησιν. Οὔκουν οὐδὲ τοὺς νόσῳ κάμνοντας

[1] ξυμμέτρους, omitting οὖσα, Krüger, but ξύμμετρος, if illogical, is quite in Arrian's style.

was burning, and the most part too from thirst, perished; for they even came across high hills of deep sand, not beaten down, but letting them sink in as if into liquid mud or into untrodden snow as they stepped upon it. Besides this, in ascents, or when descending, the horses and mules were particularly distressed by the unevenness and insecurity of the surface. Then the lengths of the marches very seriously oppressed the army; for want of water, which occurred at irregular intervals, drove them to make their marches as necessity dictated. Then whenever at night they covered the distance which had to be traversed, and at dawn came upon water, they were not so very much distressed; but if the day went on, by reason of the journey's length, and they were left still marching, then indeed they were in a sorry plight from the double sufferings of heat and unquenchable thirst.

XXV. Of the transport animals there was then great loss, even caused deliberately by the army; for whenever their provisions began to fail them they clubbed together and gradually killed off most of their horses and mules and ate their flesh, giving out that they had perished from thirst or had collapsed from fatigue; and there was no one to prove the actual fact, both because of their distress and because they were all involved in the same crime. Alexander himself, however, was not unaware of these happenings; but he saw that the remedy for their present distress lay rather in his pretended ignorance than in any connivance of what went on. Nor was it easy to

τῆς στρατιᾶς οὐδὲ τοὺς διὰ κάματον ὑπολει-
πομένους ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἄγειν ἔτι ἦν εὐμαρῶς
ἀπορίᾳ τε τῶν ὑποζυγίων καὶ ὅτι τὰς ἁμάξας
αὐτοὶ κατέκοπτον, ἀπόρους οὔσας αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ
βάθους τῆς ψάμμου ἄγεσθαι, καὶ ὅτι ἐν τοῖς
πρώτοις σταθμοῖς διὰ ταῦτα ἐξηναγκάζοντο οὐ
τὰς βραχυτάτας ἰέναι τῶν ὁδῶν, ἀλλὰ τὰς εὐ-
3 πορωτάτας τοῖς ζεύγεσι. Καὶ οὕτως οἱ μὲν
νόσῳ κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς ὑπελείποντο, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ
καμάτου ἢ καύματος ἢ τῷ δίψει οὐκ ἀντέχοντες,
καὶ οὔτε οἱ ἄξοντες ἦσαν οὔτε οἱ μένοντες θερα-
πεύσοντες· σπουδῇ γὰρ πολλῇ ἐγίγνετο ὁ στόλος,
καὶ ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ τοῦ παντὸς προθύμῳ τὸ καθ'
ἑκάστους ξὺν ἀνάγκῃ ἠμελεῖτο· οἱ δὲ καὶ ὕπνῳ
κάτοχοι κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς γενόμενοι, οἷα δὴ νυκτὸς
τὸ πολὺ τὰς πορείας ποιούμενοι, ἔπειτα ἐξανα-
στάντες, οἷς μὲν δύναμις ἔτι ἦν κατὰ τὰ ἴχνη
τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐφομαρτήσαντες ὀλίγοι ἀπὸ πολ-
λῶν ἐσώθησαν· οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ ὥσπερ ἐν πελάγει
ἐκπεσόντες τῇ ψάμμῳ ἀπώλοντο.

4 Ξυνηνέχθη δὲ τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ ἄλλο πάθημα,
ὃ δὴ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐπίεσεν αὐτούς τε καὶ τοὺς
ἵππους καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια. Ὕεται γὰρ ἡ Γαδρω-
σίων γῆ ὑπ' ἀνέμων τῶν ἐτησίων, καθάπερ οὖν
καὶ ἡ Ἰνδῶν γῆ, οὐ τὰ πεδία τῶν Γαδρωσίων,
ἀλλὰ τὰ ὄρη, ἵναπερ προσφέρονταί τε αἱ νεφέλαι
ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ ἀναχέονται, οὐχ ὑπερβάλ-
5 λουσαι τῶν ὀρῶν τὰς κορυφάς. Ὡς δὲ ηὐλίσθη ἡ
στρατιὰ πρὸς χειμάρρῳ ὀλίγου ὕδατος, αὐτοῦ
δὴ ἕνεκα τοῦ ὕδατος, ἀμφὶ δευτέραν φυλακὴν
τῆς νυκτὸς ἐμπλησθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ὄμβρων ὁ
χείμαρρος ὁ ταύτῃ ῥέων, ἀφανῶν τῇ στρατιᾷ

bring along those of the troops who were sick, nor those who were left lying in the way from fatigue, both from want of the transport animals and because the men themselves kept destroying the waggons, which it was impossible to drag along owing to the depth of the sand, and also because in the earlier marches they had been compelled for this reason not to go by the shortest routes but by those that were easiest for the teams. And so some were left behind on the routes sick, and others from weariness or sunstroke, or no longer able to hold out against the thirst; there was no one to help them forward, and no one to stay behind and take care of them; for the march was hurried and in the general eagerness the troubles of individuals were necessarily neglected: and those who were borne down by sleep on the marches, since they made most of their stages by night, when they woke up again, if they had strength to do so, followed in the track of the army, and so a few, out of many, were saved; but most of them fell into the sand, like men who perished in the sea.

The army received also a further disaster, which perhaps more than anything else distressed both the troops, and their horses and transport animals. During the trade winds there is heavy rain over the land of the Gadrosians, as also over India, not so much over the Gadrosian plains as over the hills, whither the clouds are borne by the wind and are poured out in rain, not rising above the crests of the hills. Now the army bivouacked near a small stream, in fact for the sake of the water, and about the second watch of the night the stream which flowed here became swollen with rains, the rains themselves having fallen

γεγενημένων τῶν ὄμβρων, τοσούτῳ ἐπῆλθε τῷ ὕδατι, ὡς γύναια καὶ παιδάρια τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἑπομένων τῇ στρατιᾷ διαφθεῖραι καὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν τὴν βασιλικὴν ξύμπασαν ἀφανίσαι καὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων ὅσα ἀπελείπετο, αὐτοὺς δὲ μόλις καὶ χαλεπῶς ξὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις οὐδὲ τούτοις πᾶσιν
6 ἀποσωθῆναι. Οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ πίνοντες, ὁπότε ἐκ καύματός τε καὶ δίψους ὕδατι ἀθρόῳ ἐπιτύχοιεν, πρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀπαύστου ποτοῦ ἀπώλοντο, καὶ τούτων ἕνεκα Ἀλέξανδρος τὰς στρατοπεδείας οὐ πρὸς τοῖς ὕδασιν αὐτοῖς τὸ πολὺ ἐποιεῖτο, ἀλλὰ ἀπέχων ὅσον εἴκοσι σταδίους μάλιστα, ὡς μὴ ἀθρόους ἐμπίπτοντας τῷ ὕδατι αὐτούς τε καὶ τὰ κτήνη ἀπόλλυσθαι καὶ ἅμα τοὺς μάλιστα ἀκράτορας σφῶν ἐπεμβαίνοντας ἐς τὰς πηγὰς ἢ τὰ ῥεύματα διαφθείρειν καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ στρατιᾷ τὸ ὕδωρ.

XXVI. Ἔνθα δὴ ἔργον καλὸν εἴπερ τι ἄλλο τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου οὐκ ἔδοξέ μοι ἀφανίσαι, ἢ ἐν τῇδε τῇ χώρᾳ πραχθὲν ἢ ἔτι ἔμπροσθεν ἐν Παραπαμισάδαις, ὡς μετεξέτεροι ἀνέγραψαν. Ἰέναι μὲν τὴν στρατιὰν διὰ ψάμμου τε καὶ τοῦ καύματος ἤδη ἐπιφλέγοντος, ὅτι πρὸς ὕδωρ ἐχρῆν ἐξανύσαι· τὸ δὲ ἦν πρόσω τῆς ὁδοῦ· καὶ αὐτόν τε Ἀλέξανδρον δίψει κατεχόμενον μόλις μὲν καὶ χαλεπῶς, πεζὸν δὲ ὅμως ἡγεῖσθαι· ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας, οἷά περ φιλεῖ ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε, κουφοτέρως φέρειν τοὺς πόνους ἐν ἰσότητι τῆς
2 ταλαιπωρήσεως. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῶν ψιλῶν τινας κατὰ ζήτησιν ὕδατος ἀποτραπέντας ἀπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς εὑρεῖν ὕδωρ συλλελεγμένον ἔν τινι

out of sight of the army, and came down with so great a spate of water that it drowned most of the women and children from among those which followed the army, swept away all the royal pavilion and its contents, and so many of the transport animals as had survived; and indeed the troops themselves were only saved with great difficulty, with their weapons only, and not even all of these. Then again most of those even who drank, whenever they met with abundant water after much drought and thirst, perished by reason of their intemperate drinking; and for this reason Alexander did not, as a rule, have his encampment actually on the banks of the water-courses, but about twenty stades away, so that they should not, by a general rush at the stream, perish, themselves and their beasts, and at the same time the greediest of them, stepping into the springs or streams, spoil the water for the rest of the host.

XXVI. At this point I have not thought well to leave unrecorded the noblest achievement of Alexander, whether it took place in this country, or among the Parapamisadae at an earlier date, as others have narrated. The army was marching through sand and while the heat was already burning, since they were obliged to reach water at the end of the march; and this was some distance ahead. Alexander himself was much distressed by thirst, and with much difficulty, but still as best he could, led the way on foot; so that the rest of the troops should (as usually happens in such a case) bear their toils more easily, when all are sharing the distress alike. Meanwhile some of the light-armed troops had turned aside from the rest of the line to look for water, and had found some, just a little water collected in a shallow river-

χαράδρᾳ οὐ βαθείᾳ, ὀλίγην καὶ φαύλην πίδακα· καὶ τοῦτο οὖν[1] χαλεπῶς συλλέξαντας σπουδῇ ἰέναι παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον, ὡς μέγα δή τι ἀγαθὸν φέροντας· ὡς δὲ ἐπέλαζον ἤδη, ἐμβαλόντας ἐς κράνος
3 τὸ ὕδωρ προσενεγκεῖν τῷ βασιλεῖ. Τὸν δὲ λαβεῖν μὲν καὶ ἐπαινέσαι τοὺς κομίσαντας· λαβόντα δὲ ἐν ὄψει πάντων ἐκχέαι· καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε τῷ ἔργῳ ἐς τοσόνδε ἐπιρρωσθῆναι τὴν στρατιὰν ξύμπασαν ὥστε εἰκάσαι ἄν τινα πότον γενέσθαι πᾶσιν ἐκεῖνο τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐκχυθέν. Τοῦτο ἐγώ, εἴπερ τι ἄλλο, τὸ ἔργον εἰς καρτερίαν τε καὶ ἅμα στρατηγίαν ἐπαινῶ Ἀλεξάνδρου.

4 Ξυνηνέχθη δέ τι καὶ τοιόνδε τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐν τῇ γῇ ἐκείνῃ. Οἱ γὰρ ἡγεμόνες τῆς ὁδοῦ τελευτῶντες οὐκέτι μεμνῆσθαι ἔφασκον τὴν ὁδόν, ἀλλ' ἀφανισθῆναι τὰ σημεῖα αὐτῆς πρὸς τοῦ ἀνέμου ἐπιπνεύσαντος· καὶ οὐ γὰρ εἶναι ἐν τῇ ψάμμῳ πολλῇ τε καὶ ὁμοίᾳ πάντῃ νενημένῃ ὅτῳ τεκμηριώσονται τὴν ὁδόν, οὔτ' οὖν δένδρα ξυνήθη παρ' αὐτὴν πεφυκότα, οὔτε τινὰ γήλοφον βέβαιον ἀνεστηκότα· οὐδὲ πρὸς τὰ ἄστρα ἐν νυκτὶ ἢ μεθ' ἡμέραν πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον μεμελετῆσθαί σφισι τὰς πορείας, καθάπερ τοῖς ναύταις πρὸς τῶν ἄρκτων τὴν μὲν Φοίνιξι, τὴν ὀλίγην, τὴν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις
5 ἀνθρώποις, τὴν μείζονα. Ἔνθα δὴ Ἀλέξανδρον ξυνέντα ὅτι ἐν ἀριστερᾷ [δεῖ][2] ἀποκλίναντα ἄγειν, ἀναλαβόντα ὀλίγους ἅμα οἷ ἱππέας [προκεχωρηκέναι]·[3] ὡς δὲ καὶ τούτων οἱ ἵπποι ἐξέκαμνον ὑπὸ τοῦ καύματος, ἀπολιπεῖν καὶ

[1] σὺν Teubner text for MSS. ὂν.
[2] δεῖ added by Vulcanius.
[3] προκεχωρηκέναι added by Vulcanius.

bed, a poor and wretched water-hole; they gathered up this water with difficulty and hurried to Alexander as if they were bringing him some great boon; but when they drew near, they brought the water, which they had poured into a helmet, to the King. He received it, and thanked those who had brought it; and taking it poured it out in the sight of all the troops; and at this action the whole army was so much heartened that you would have said that each and every man had drunk that water which Alexander thus poured out. This deed of Alexander's above all I commend most warmly as a proof both of his endurance and his excellence as a general.

There was also a further incident which happened to the army in this district. The guides of the route finally said that they could not remember the way, but that its marks of direction had been obliterated by the violence of the wind; and, of course, in the sand which was everywhere and all alike, heaped up on all sides, there was nothing by which one could guess the road; not even the ordinary trees growing along it, nor any solid hillock emerging from it; nor had the guides accustomed themselves to make their marches by the stars at night nor by the sun during the day, as the Phoenician sailors have become accustomed to steer their way by the Little Bear and the rest of mankind by the Great Bear. So Alexander, understanding that they ought to lead the army inclining to the left, took a few horsemen with him and rode on ahead; and when their horses began to weary beneath the heat, he left behind most of

τούτων τοὺς πολλούς, αὐτὸν δὲ ξὺν πέντε τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀφιππάσασθαι, καὶ εὑρεῖν τὴν θάλασσαν· διαμησάμενόν τε αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ τὸν κάχληκα ἐπιτυχεῖν ὕδατι γλυκεῖ καὶ καθαρῷ, καὶ οὕτω μετελθεῖν τὴν στρατιὰν πᾶσαν· καὶ ἐς ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας ἰέναι παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν, ὑδρευομένους ἐκ τῆς ἠιόνος. Ἔνθεν δέ, ἤδη γὰρ γιγνώσκειν τὴν ὁδὸν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, ἐπὶ τῆς μεσογαίας ποιεῖσθαι τὸν στόλον.

XXVII. Ὡς δὲ ἀφίκετο ἐς τῶν Γαδρωσίων τὰ βασίλεια, ἀναπαύει ἐνταῦθα τὴν στρατιάν. Καὶ Ἀπολλοφάνην μὲν παύει τῆς σατραπείας, ὅτι οὐδενὸς ἔγνω ἐπιμεληθέντα τῶν προεπηγγελμένων· Θόαντα δὲ σατραπεύειν τῶν ταύτῃ ἔταξε· τούτου δὲ νόσῳ τελευτήσαντος Σιβύρτιος τὴν σατραπείαν ἐκδέχεται· ὁ αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ Καρμανίας σατράπης ἦν νεωστὶ ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου ταχθείς· τότε δὲ τούτῳ μὲν Ἀραχωτῶν τε καὶ τῶν Γαδρωσίων ἄρχειν ἐδόθη· Καρμανίαν δὲ ἔσχε
2 Τληπόλεμος ὁ Πυθοφάνους. Ἤδη τε ἐπὶ Καρμανίας προὐχώρει ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἀγγέλλεται αὐτῷ Φίλιππον τὸν σατράπην τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς ἐπιβουλευθέντα πρὸς τῶν μισθοφόρων δόλῳ ἀποθανεῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἀποκτείναντας ὅτι οἱ σωματοφύλακες τοῦ Φιλίππου οἱ Μακεδόνες τοὺς μὲν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἔργῳ, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ὕστερον λαβόντες ἀπέκτειναν. Ταῦτα δὲ ὡς ἔγνω, ἐκπέμπει γράμματα ἐς Ἰνδοὺς παρὰ Εὔδαμόν τε καὶ Ταξίλην ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς χώρας τῆς πρόσθεν ὑπὸ Φιλίππῳ τεταγμένης ἔστ' ἂν αὐτὸς σατράπην ἐκπέμψῃ ἐπ' αὐτῆς.
3 Ἤδη δ' ἐς Καρμανίαν ἥκοντος Ἀλεξάνδρου

them, and he with no more than five rode off and found the sea; then, digging in the gravel on the shore, he found fresh and pure water, and so the whole army came thither; and for seven days they marched along the sea-coast, getting water from the shore, and thence, for the guides now began to recognize the road, he led his army into the interior.

XXVII. Arriving at length at the Gadrosian capital, Alexander rested his army there. Apollophanes he removed from his satrapy, finding that he had neglected all his orders; and he appointed Thoas to be satrap in his stead; but as he died of sickness, Sibyrtius received the office; he had been recently appointed by Alexander satrap of Carmania; but now he was given the charge of both the Arachotians and the Gadrosians, and Tlepolemus son of Pythophanes took over Carmania. Alexander had already begun his march towards Carmania, when it was reported to him that Philip the satrap of the Indians had been treacherously killed as the result of a plot against him by the mercenaries; but that the Macedonian bodyguards of Philip had put to death the assassins, some in the act, and some they captured afterwards. On learning this he despatched letters to India to Eudamus and Taxiles bidding them take charge of the district formerly under Philip, until he should send a satrap to govern it.

When Alexander had reached Carmania, Craterus

Κράτερος ἀφικνεῖται, τήν τε ἄλλην στρατιὰν ἅμα οἷ ἄγων καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας καὶ Ὀρδάνην τὸν ἀποστάντα καὶ νεωτερίσαντα συνειληφώς. Ἐνταῦθα δὲ [καὶ] Στασάνωρ τε ὁ Ἀρείων καὶ ὁ Ζαράγγων σατράπης ἧκε καὶ ξὺν αὐτοῖς Φαρισμάνης ὁ Φραταφέρνου τοῦ Παρθυαίων καὶ Ὑρκανίων σατράπου παῖς. Ἧκον δὲ καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ οἱ ὑπολειφθέντες ἅμα Παρμενίωνι ἐπὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς τῆς ἐν Μηδίᾳ, Κλέανδρός τε καὶ Σιτάλκης καὶ Ἡράκων, τὴν πολλὴν τῆς
4 στρατιᾶς καὶ οὗτοι ἄγοντες. Τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἀμφὶ Κλέανδρόν τε καὶ Σιτάλκην πολλὰ ἐπικαλούντων αὐτοῖς τῶν τε ἐγχωρίων καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς αὐτῆς, ὡς ἱερά τε πρὸς αὐτῶν σεσυλημένα καὶ θήκας παλαιὰς κεκινημένας καὶ ἄλλα ἄδικα ἔργα ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους τετολμημένα καὶ ἀτάσθαλα, ταῦτα ὡς ἐξηγγέλθη,[1] τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν, ὡς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δέος εἶναι ὅσοι σατράπαι ἢ ὕπαρχοι ἢ νομάρχαι ἀπολείποιντο, τὰ ἴσα ἐκείνοις πλημ-
5 μελοῦντας πείσεσθαι. (Καὶ τοῦτο, εἴπερ τι ἄλλο, κατέσχεν ἐν κόσμῳ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου δορυάλωτα ἢ ἑκόντα προσχωρήσαντα, τοσαῦτα μὲν πλήθει ὄντα, τόσον δὲ ἀλλήλων ἀφεστηκότα, ὅτι οὐκ ἐξῆν ὑπὸ τῇ Ἀλεξάνδρου βασιλείᾳ ἀδικεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀρχομένους ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων.) Ἡράκων δὲ τότε μὲν ἀφείθη τῆς αἰτίας· ὀλίγον δὲ ὕστερον ἐξελεγχθεὶς πρὸς ἀνδρῶν Σουσίων σεσυληκέναι τὸ ἐν Σούσοις ἱερὸν
6 καὶ οὗτος ἔδωκε δίκην. Οἱ δὲ ξὺν Στασάνορι καὶ Φραταφέρνῃ πλῆθός τε ὑποζυγίων παρ' Ἀλέξ-

[1] Sintenis ἐξηλέγχθη is plausible but not necessary. Alexander often acted swiftly.

arrived, bringing with him the rest of the army and the elephants and Ordanes who had revolted and began to rebel, but whom he had captured. There also Stasanor satrap of Areia and the satrap of the Zarangians came, and with them Pharismanes the son of Phrataphernes the satrap of Parthyaea and Hyrcania. There arrived also the satraps who had been left behind with Parmenio in charge of the forces in Media, Cleander and Sitalces and Heracon, they also bringing the greater part of these forces. Both the natives and the forces themselves brought many charges against Cleander and Sitalces and their followers of having plundered temples, rifled ancient tombs, and done other overbearing and scandalous injustices to the inhabitants. On receiving this report, Alexander put these two to death, to put fear into any other satraps or governors who were left, that if they committed the like crimes they too should suffer the like fate. And this above everything else kept in order the tribes which Alexander had subdued or which had surrendered to him, being as they were so many in number, and so far separated one from another—namely, that Alexander permitted no subjects under his sway to be wronged by their rulers. Heracon indeed was for the time acquitted of the charge; but soon after the charge was brought home to him by some of the people of Susa of having sacked the temple of Susa; and he also was punished. The companions of Stasanor and Phrataphernes brought to Alexander a

ανδρον ἄγοντες ἦλθον καὶ καμήλους πολλάς, ὡς ἔμαθον ὅτι τὴν ἐπὶ Γαδρωσίων ἄγει, εἰκάσαντες ὅτι τὰ αὐτὰ ἐκεῖνα πείσεται αὐτῷ ἡ στρατιὰ ἃ δὴ ἔπαθε. Καὶ οὖν καὶ ἐν καιρῷ μὲν καὶ οὗτοι ἀφίκοντο, ἐν καιρῷ δὲ οἱ κάμηλοί τε καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια· διένειμε γὰρ ξύμπαντα Ἀλέξανδρος τοῖς μὲν ἡγεμόσι κατ' ἄνδρα, τοῖς δὲ κατ' ἴλας τε καὶ ἑκατοστύας, τοῖς δὲ κατὰ λόχους, ὅπως τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ὑποζυγίων τε καὶ καμήλων αὐτῷ ξυνέβαινεν.

XXVIII. Ἤδη δέ τινες καὶ τοιάδε ἀνέγραψαν, οὐ πιστὰ ἐμοὶ λέγοντες, ὡς συζεύξας δύο ἁρμαμάξας κατακείμενος ξὺν τοῖς ἑταίροις καταυλούμενος τὴν διὰ Καρμανίας ἦγεν, ἡ στρατιὰ δὲ αὐτῷ ἐστεφανωμένη τε καὶ παίζουσα εἵπετο, προὔκειτο δὲ αὐτῇ σῖτά τε καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐς τρυφὴν παρὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς συγκεκομισμένα πρὸς τῶν Καρμανίων, καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς μίμησιν τῆς
2 Διονύσου Βακχείας ἀπεικάσθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ὅτι καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου λόγος ἐλέγετο καταστρεψάμενον Ἰνδοὺς Διόνυσον οὕτω τὴν πολλὴν τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπελθεῖν, καὶ Θρίαμβόν τε αὐτὸν ἐπικληθῆναι τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ ταῖς νίκαις ταῖς ἐκ πολέμου πομπὰς ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ θριάμβους. Ταῦτα δὲ οὔτε Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου οὔτε Ἀριστόβουλος ὁ Ἀριστοβούλου ἀνέγραψαν οὐδέ τις ἄλλος ὅντινα ἱκανὸν ἄν τις ποιήσαιτο τεκμηριῶσαι ὑπὲρ τῶν τοιῶνδε. Καί μοι ὡς οὐ πιστὰ ἀνα-
3 γεγράφθαι ἐξήρκεσεν.[1] Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα ἤδη Ἀριστοβούλῳ ἑπόμενος ξυγγράφω, θῦσαι ἐν Καρμανίᾳ Ἀλέξανδρον χαριστήρια τῆς κατ' Ἰνδῶν νίκης καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς στρατιᾶς, ὅτι ἀπεσώθη ἐκ Γαδρω-

[1] ἐξήρκεσαν Dübner with most texts; Ellendt -σεν.

large number of transport animals and a good many camels, having guessed, so soon as they learned that he was going towards Gadrosia, that his army would suffer those very disasters which it did suffer. Their coming, too, was indeed timely, as was that of the camels and other animals; for Alexander distributed them all to the officers, one by one, to the others by squadrons and centuries, and also by files, according to the total number of camels and transport animals which he received.

XXVIII. Some writers have recounted a story, which I do not myself credit, that Alexander bound together two war-chariots, and reclining at ease with his Companions, and soothed by the sounds of the flute, thus drove through Carmania; his army following behind, garlanded and sporting; that provisions, and everything else that could make for luxury, had been brought together along their path by the Carmanians; and that all this had been conceived by Alexander in mimicry of the bacchic revelry of Dionysus, since there was a story about Dionysus, too, that after subduing India he traversed in this guise the greater part of Asia, Dionysus himself being surnamed "Triumph," and his warlike processions after his victories called, for the like reason, "triumphs." All this neither Ptolemaeus son of Lagus nor Aristobulus son of Aristobulus have recorded; nor any other author whom one might regard as reliable in narrating tales like these. As for me, it has sufficed to write them down here, but merely as legends. This, however, I do record, following Aristobulus, that Alexander in Carmania sacrificed thank-offerings for his conquest of India, and on behalf of his army, for its safe transit through

*σίων, καὶ ἀγῶνα διαθεῖναι μουσικόν τε καὶ γυμ-
νικόν· κατατάξαι δὲ καὶ Πευκέσταν ἐς τοὺς
σωματοφύλακας, ἤδη μὲν ἐγνωκότα σατράπην
καταστῆσαι τῆς Περσίδος, ἐθέλοντα δὲ πρὸ τῆς
σατραπείας μηδὲ ταύτης τῆς τιμῆς καὶ πίστεως
4 ἀπείρατον εἶναι, ἐπὶ τῷ ἐν Μαλλοῖς ἔργῳ· εἶναι δὲ
αὐτῷ ἑπτὰ εἰς τότε σωματοφύλακας, Λεόννατον
Ἀντέου, Ἡφαιστίωνα τὸν Ἀμύντορος, Λυσίμαχον
Ἀγαθοκλέους, Ἀριστόνουν Πεισαίου, τούτους
μὲν Πελλαίους, Περδίκκαν δὲ Ὀρόντου ἐκ τῆς
Ὀρεστίδος, Πτολεμαῖον δὲ τὸν Λάγου καὶ
Πείθωνα Κρατεᾶ Ἐορδαίους· ὄγδοον δὲ προσ-
γενέσθαι αὐτοῖς Πευκέσταν τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου
ὑπερασπίσαντα.*

5 *Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Νέαρχος περιπλεύσας τὴν
Ὥρων τε καὶ Γαδρωσίων γῆν καὶ τὴν Ἰχθυοφάγων
κατῆρεν ἐς τῆς Καρμανίας τὰ πρὸς θάλασσαν
ᾠκισμένα· ἔνθεν δὲ ἀνελθὼν σὺν ὀλίγοις Ἀλεξ-
άνδρῳ ἀπήγγειλε τὰ ἀμφὶ τὸν περίπλουν τὸν
6 γενόμενον αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ἔξω θάλασσαν. Τοῦ-
τον μὲν δὴ καταπέμπει αὖθις, ἐκπεριπλεύσοντα
ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν Σουσιανῶν τε γῆν καὶ τοῦ Τίγρητος
ποταμοῦ τὰς ἐκβολάς· ὅπως δὲ ἐπλεύσθη αὐτῷ
τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν
τὴν Περσικὴν καὶ τὸ στόμα τοῦ Τίγρητος, ταῦτα
ἰδίᾳ ἀναγράψω αὐτῷ Νεάρχῳ ἑπόμενος, ὡς καὶ
τήνδε εἶναι ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἑλληνικὴν ξυγ-
γραφήν. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐν ὑστέρῳ ἔσται τυχὸν
εἰσότε θυμός τέ με καὶ ὁ δαίμων ταύτῃ ἄγῃ.*

7 *Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ Ἡφαιστίωνα μὲν σύν τε τῇ
πλείστῃ μοίρᾳ τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις,
καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἅμα οἷ ἔχοντα τὴν παρὰ θάλασ-*

the Gadrosian desert; and that he instituted athletic games and artistic contests; also that he enrolled Peucestas among his bodyguards, having already decided to make him satrap of Persia, but anxious that even before he received this satrapy he should not be without this mark of honour and confidence after his heroic deed among the Mallians; moreover, that up to this time he had seven officers of the bodyguards, Leonnatus son of Anteas, Hephaestion son of Amyntor, Lysimachus son of Agathocles, Aristonous son of Pisaeus, all these of Pella; then, besides, Perdiccas son of Orontes, from Orestis, Ptolemaeus son of Lagus and Peitho son of Crateas, from Eordaea, and now an eighth was added to their number, Peucestas, who protected Alexander by his shield.

Meanwhile Nearchus, having completed his voyage round the country of the Orians and the Gadrosians and the Ichthyophagi, put in to the inhabited part of the Carmanian seashore; and thence going inland with only a few of his men reported to Alexander the result of his voyage through the outer ocean. Alexander sent him back again, to continue his voyage to the district of Susia and the mouths of the river Tigris. The story, however, of his voyage from the river Indus to the Persian Sea and the mouth of the Tigris, I shall recount separately, using Nearchus himself as my authority, so that this may also be a History of Alexander in Greek. This, then, shall be perhaps for some future date, when inclination and circumstances put me in the way of it.

Alexander now despatched Hephaestion with the greatest part of the army and the baggage train, and with the elephants also, along the sea-coast from

σαν ἀπὸ [τῆς] Καρμανίας ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Περσίδα ἄγειν ἐκέλευσεν, ὅτι χειμῶνος ὥρᾳ γιγνομένου αὐτῷ τοῦ στόλου τὰ πρὸς τῇ θαλάσσῃ τῇ Περσίδος ἀλεεινά τε ἦν, καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀφθόνως ἔχοντα.

XXIX. Αὐτὸς δὲ ξὺν τοῖς κουφοτάτοις τῶν πεζῶν καὶ ξὺν τοῖς ἑταίροις τῶν ἱππέων καὶ μέρει τινὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν ᾔει τὴν ἐπὶ Πασαργάδας τῆς Περσίδος· Στασάνορα δὲ καταπέμπει ἐπὶ τὴν
2 χώραν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ. Ὡς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅροις ἦν τῆς Περσίδος, Φρασαόρτην μὲν οὐ κατέλαβε σατραπεύοντα ἔτι (νόσῳ γὰρ τετελευτηκὼς ἐτύγχανεν ἐν Ἰνδοῖς ἔτι Ἀλεξάνδρου ὄντος), Ὀρξίνης δὲ ἐπεμέλετο τῆς Περσίδος, οὐ πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου κατασταθείς, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐκ ἀπηξίωσεν αὐτὸν ἐν κόσμῳ Πέρσας διαφυλάξαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, οὐκ
3 ὄντος ἄλλου ἄρχοντος. Ἦλθε δὲ ἐς Πασαργάδας καὶ Ἀτροπάτης ὁ Μηδίας σατράπης, ἄγων Βαρυάξην ἄνδρα Μῆδον συνειλημμένον, ὅτι ὀρθὴν τὴν κίδαριν περιθέμενος βασιλέα προσειπεν αὐτὸν Περσῶν τε καὶ Μήδων, καὶ ξὺν τούτῳ τοὺς μετασχόντας αὐτῷ τοῦ νεωτερισμοῦ τε καὶ τῆς ἀποστάσεως. Τούτους μὲν δὴ ἀπέκτεινεν Ἀλέξανδρος.

4 Ἐλύπησε δὲ αὐτὸν ἡ παρανομία ἡ ἐς τὸν Κύρου τοῦ Καμβύσου τάφον, ὅτι διορωρυγμένον τε καὶ σεσυλημένον κατέλαβε τοῦ Κύρου τὸν τάφον, ὡς λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος. Εἶναι γὰρ ἐν Πασαργάδαις ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τῷ βασιλικῷ Κύρου ἐκείνου τάφον, καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ἄλσος πεφυτεῦσθαι δένδρων παντοίων, καὶ ὕδατι εἶναι κατάρρυτον καὶ
5 πόαν βαθεῖαν πεφυκέναι ἐν τῷ λειμῶνι· αὐτὸν

Carmania, bidding him lead his force to Persia, because, his expedition taking place in winter, the seaward parts of Persia were sunny and well supplied with all necessaries.

XXIX. Then Alexander himself, with the lightest of the infantry and the cavalry Companions and with part of the archers, advanced by the road leading to the Pasargadae, in Persia; Stasanor he despatched to his own country. And when he was on the Persian borders, he did not find Phrasaortes satrap any longer, for he had died of sickness while Alexander was in India, but Orxines had charge of Persia, not by appointment of Alexander, but because he felt that he was the right person, in the absence of any other governor, to keep Persia in order for Alexander. To the district of the Pasargadae came also Atropates the satrap of Media, with Baryaxes a Mede as prisoner, since he had worn his cap in the upright fashion and given himself out to be King of Persians and Medes; together with him were his associates in his revolution and rebellion. All these Alexander ordered to be put to death.

Alexander, however, was most distressed by the crime committed against the tomb of Cyrus son of Cambyses, since (as Aristobulus relates) he found the tomb of Cyrus broken into and rifled. The tomb of this Cyrus was in the territory of the Pasargadae, in the royal park; round it had been planted a grove of all sorts of trees; the grove was irrigated, and deep grass had grown in the meadow; the tomb itself was

δὲ τὸν τάφον τὰ μὲν κάτω λίθου τετραπέδου
ἐς τετράγωνον σχῆμα πεποιῆσθαι· ἄνωθεν δὲ
οἴκημα ἐπεῖναι λίθινον ἐστεγασμένον, θυρίδα
ἔχον φέρουσαν εἴσω στενήν, ὡς μόλις ἂν ἑνὶ
ἀνδρὶ οὐ μεγάλῳ πολλὰ κακοπαθοῦντι παρελ-
θεῖν. Ἐν δὲ τῷ οἰκήματι πύελον χρυσῆν
κεῖσθαι, ἵνα τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Κύρου ἐτέθαπτο, καὶ
κλίνην παρὰ τῇ πυέλῳ· πόδας δὲ εἶναι τῇ
κλίνῃ χρυσοῦς σφυρηλάτους, καὶ τάπητα ἐπι-
βλημάτων[1] Βαβυλωνίων, καὶ καυνάκας πορφυ-
6 ροῦς ὑποστρώματα. Ἐπεῖναι δὲ καὶ κάνδυς καὶ
ἄλλους χιτῶνας τῆς Βαβυλωνίου ἐργασίας. Καὶ
ἀναξυρίδες Μηδικαὶ καὶ στολαὶ ὑακινθινοβαφεῖς
λέγει ὅτι ἔκειντο, αἱ δὲ πορφύρας, αἱ δὲ ἄλλης καὶ
ἄλλης χρόας, καὶ στρεπτοὶ καὶ ἀκινάκαι καὶ ἐνώτια
χρυσοῦ τε καὶ λίθων κολλητά, καὶ τράπεζα
ἔκειτο. Ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τῆς κλίνης ἡ πύελος ἔκειτο
7 ἡ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Κύρου ἔχουσα. Εἶναι δὲ ἐντὸς
τοῦ περιβόλου πρὸς τῇ ἀναβάσει τῇ ἐπὶ τὸν
τάφον φερούσῃ οἴκημα σμικρὸν τοῖς Μάγοις
πεποιημένον, οἳ δὴ ἐφύλασσον τὸν Κύρου τάφον,
ἔτι ἀπὸ Καμβύσου τοῦ Κύρου, παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς
ἐκδεχόμενοι τὴν φυλακήν. Καὶ τούτοις πρό-
βατόν τε ἐς ἡμέραν ἐδίδοτο ἐκ βασιλέως καὶ
ἀλεύρων τε καὶ οἴνου τεταγμένα καὶ ἵππος κατὰ
μῆνα ἐς θυσίαν τῷ Κύρῳ. Ἐπεγέγραπτο δὲ ὁ
8 τάφος Περσικοῖς γράμμασι· καὶ ἐδήλου Περ-
σιστὶ τάδε· "ὦ ἄνθρωπε, ἐγὼ Κῦρός εἰμι ὁ
Καμβύσου ὁ τὴν ἀρχὴν Πέρσαις καταστησά-
μενος καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεύσας. Μὴ οὖν
φθονήσῃς μοι τοῦ μνήματος."

[1] ἐπίβλημα τῶν Röhl (and so Roos).

built, at the base, with stones cut square and raised into rectangular form. Above, there was a chamber with a stone roof and with a door leading into it so narrow that with difficulty, and after great trouble, one man, and he a small one, could enter. And in the chamber was placed a golden sarcophagus, in which Cyrus' body had been buried; a divan stood by the sarcophagus, and this divan had feet of wrought gold; its coverlet was of Babylonian carpets, and for an undercovering, purple rugs. Upon it was placed a tunic and vests also of Babylonian workmanship. Then there were, besides, Median trousers; and robes dyed blue lay there, as he[1] says; and furthermore some of purple, some of this colour, some of that; necklaces also and scimitars and earrings of stones set in gold; and a table stood there also. It was on the midst of the divan that the sarcophagus, containing Cyrus' body, was placed. Within the enclosure, and lying on the approach to the tomb itself, was a small building put up for the Magians, who were guardians of Cyrus' tomb, from as long ago as Cambyses, son of Cyrus, receiving this guardianship from father to son. To them was given from the King a sheep a day, an allowance of meal and wine, and a horse each month, to sacrifice to Cyrus. There was an inscription on the tomb in Persian letters; it ran thus, in Persian: "Mortal! I am Cyrus son of Cambyses, who founded the Persian empire, and was Lord of Asia. Grudge me not, then, my monument."

[1] Aristobulus.

9 Ἀλέξανδρος δέ (ἐπιμελὲς γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ, ὁπότε ἕλοι Πέρσας, παριέναι ἐς τοῦ Κύρου τὸν τάφον) τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καταλαμβάνει ἐκπεφορημένα πλὴν τῆς πυέλου καὶ τῆς κλίνης· οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Κύρου ἐλωβήσαντο, ἀφελόντες τὸ πῶμα τῆς πυέλου, καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ἐξέβαλον· αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν πύελον ἐπειρῶντο εὔογκόν σφισι ποιήσασθαι καὶ ταύτῃ εὔφορον τὰ μὲν παρακόπτοντες, τὰ δὲ ξυνθλῶντες αὐτῆς. Ὡς δὲ οὐ προὐχώρει αὐτοῖς τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον, οὕτω δὴ ἐάσαντες τὴν πύελον
10 ἀπῆλθον. Καὶ λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος αὐτὸς ταχθῆναι πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου κοσμῆσαι ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς τῷ Κύρῳ τὸν τάφον· καὶ τοῦ μὲν σώματος ὅσαπερ ἔτι σῶα ἦν καταθεῖναι ἐς τὴν πύελον καὶ τὸ πῶμα ἐπιθεῖναι· ὅσα δὲ λελώβητο αὐτῆς κατορθῶσαι· καὶ τὴν κλίνην ἐντεῖναι ταινίαις καὶ τἆλλα ὅσα ἐς κόσμον ἔκειτο κατ' ἀριθμόν τε καὶ τοῖς πάλαι ὅμοια ἀποθεῖναι, καὶ τὴν θυρίδα δὲ ἀφανίσαι τὰ μὲν αὐτῆς λίθῳ ἐνοικοδομήσαντα, τὰ δὲ πηλῷ ἐμπλάσαντα· καὶ ἐπιβαλεῖν τῷ πηλῷ τὸ σημεῖον τὸ βασιλικόν.
11 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ξυλλαβὼν τοὺς Μάγους τοὺς φύλακας τοῦ τάφου ἐστρέβλωσεν, ὡς κατειπεῖν τοὺς δράσαντας· οἱ δὲ οὐδὲν οὔτε σφῶν οὔτε ἄλλου κατεῖπον στρεβλούμενοι, οὐδὲ ἄλλῃ πῃ ξυνηλέγχοντο ξυνειδότες τῷ ἔργῳ· καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε ἀφείθησαν ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου.

XXX. Ἔνθεν δὲ ἐς τὰ βασίλεια ᾔει τὰ Περσῶν, ἃ δὴ πρόσθεν κατέφλεξεν αὐτός, ὥς μοι λέλεκται ὅτε οὐκ ἐπῄνουν τὸ ἔργον· ἀλλ' οὐδ' αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπανελθὼν ἐπῄνει. Καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ κατὰ Ὀρξίνου πολλοὶ λόγοι ἐλέχθησαν πρὸς

But Alexander, who was anxious, so soon as he should conquer Persia, to visit Cyrus' tomb, finds everything else removed except the sarcophagus and the divan. The robbers had even violated the body of Cyrus, for they had removed the top of the sarcophagus and had thrown out the body; the sarcophagus itself they had tried to render portable, so that they might bear it away, chipping some parts away, and breaking other parts off. Not succeeding in this attempt, however, they left the sarcophagus as it was and went off. And Aristobulus says that he received orders from Alexander to put the tomb in good order again, to deposit such parts of the body as were left in the sarcophagus again, and place its lid upon it; where it was damaged, to repair it; to spread the divan with ribands, and to restore, just like the originals, all else that had been placed there, by way of ornament, piece by piece; to obliterate the door both by walling it up in stone and partly by covering it with clay; and then to set on the clay the royal seal. Alexander then seized the Magians who were the guardians of the tomb and tortured them that they might reveal the perpetrators; but they even under torture accused neither themselves nor anyone else, nor showed in any way that they were privy to the deed; and so Alexander let them go.

XXX. Thence Alexander advanced to the Persian palace to which he himself had formerly set fire; this act when I related, I could not approve; nor did Alexander, when he returned thither, approve it. Furthermore, many accusations were brought by the

Περσῶν, ὃς ἦρξε Περσῶν ἐπειδὴ Φρασαόρτης
2 ἐτελεύτησε. Καὶ ἐξηλέγχθη Ὀρξίνης ἱερά τε ὅτι σεσυλήκει καὶ τάφους βασιλικούς, καὶ Περσῶν πολλοὺς ὅτι οὐ ξὺν δίκῃ ἀπέκτεινε. Τοῦτον μὲν δὴ οἷς ἐτάχθη ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐκρέμασαν. Σατράπην δὲ Πέρσαις ἔταξε Πευκέσταν τὸν σωματοφύλακα, πιστόν τέ οἱ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα τιθέμενος, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐν Μαλλοῖς ἔργῳ, ἵνα προεκινδύνευσέ τε καὶ συνεξέσωσεν Ἀλέξανδρον, καὶ ἄλλως τῷ βαρβαρικῷ τρόπῳ τῆς διαίτης οὐκ ἀξύμφορον·
3 ἐδήλωσε δὲ ἐσθῆτά τε εὐθὺς ὡς κατεστάθη σατραπεύειν Περσῶν μόνος τῶν ἄλλων Μακεδόνων μεταλαβὼν τὴν Μηδικὴν καὶ φωνὴν τὴν Περσικὴν ἐκμαθὼν καὶ τἆλλα ξύμπαντα ἐς τρόπον τὸν Περσικὸν κατασκευασάμενος. Ἐφ' οἷς Ἀλέξανδρός γε ἐπῄνει αὐτὸν καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ὡς τὰ παρὰ σφίσι πρὸ τῶν πατρίων πρεσβεύοντι ἔχαιρον.

Persians against Orxines, who took command of Persia when Phrasaortes died. Orxines was convicted of having rifled temples and royal tombs, and also of having put to death many Persians without cause. Certain persons then under Alexander's orders hanged him. As satrap of the Persians he appointed Peucestas the bodyguard, regarding him as especially loyal to him, and chiefly on account of his heroism among the Mallians, where he risked his life and helped to save Alexander, and moreover, by reason of his Oriental way of life he was not unsuited to the Persians. And of this he gave proof, as soon as he was appointed satrap of Persia, by adopting, alone of the Macedonians, the Median dress and learning the Persian language, and in all other respects assimilating himself to the Persian ways. For all this Alexander commended him, and the Persians were gratified that he preferred their ways to those of his own country.

BOOK VII

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΕΒΔΟΜΟΝ

I. Ὡς δὲ ἐς Πασαργάδας τε καὶ ἐς Περσέπολιν ἀφίκετο Ἀλέξανδρος, πόθος καταλαμβάνει αὐτὸν καταπλεῦσαι κατὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην τε καὶ κατὰ τὸν Τίγρητα ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν Περσικὴν καὶ τῶν τε ποταμῶν ἰδεῖν τὰς ἐκβολὰς τὰς ἐς τὸν πόντον, καθάπερ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ, καὶ τὴν
2 ταύτῃ θάλασσαν. Οἱ δὲ καὶ τάδε ἀνέγραψαν, ὅτι ἐπενόει Ἀλέξανδρος περιπλεῦσαι τήν τε Ἀραβίαν τὴν πολλὴν καὶ τὴν Αἰθιόπων γῆν καὶ τὴν Λιβύην τε καὶ τοὺς Νομάδας τοὺς ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἄτλαντα τὸ ὄρος ὡς ἐπὶ Γάδειρα εἴσω ἐς τὴν ἡμετέραν θάλασσαν· καὶ τὴν Λιβύην τε καταστρεψάμενος καὶ Καρχηδόνα οὕτω δὴ τῆς Ἀσίας
3 πάσης δικαίως ἂν βασιλεὺς καλεῖσθαι· τοὺς γάρ τοι Περσῶν καὶ Μήδων βασιλέας, οὐδὲ τοῦ πολλοστοῦ μέρους τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπάρχοντας, οὐ σὺν δίκῃ καλεῖν σφᾶς μεγάλους βασιλέας. Ἔνθεν δὲ οἱ μὲν λέγουσιν ὅτι ἐς τὸν πόντον τὸν Εὔξεινον ἐσπλεῖν ἐπενόει ἐς Σκύθας τε καὶ τὴν Μαιῶτιν λίμνην, οἱ δέ, ὅτι ἐς Σικελίαν τε καὶ ἄκραν Ἰαπυγίαν· ἤδη γὰρ καὶ ὑποκινεῖν αὐτὸν τὸ Ῥωμαίων ὄνομα προχωροῦν ἐπὶ μέγα.
4 Ἐγὼ δὲ ὁποῖα μὲν ἦν Ἀλεξάνδρου τὰ ἐνθυμήματα οὔτε ἔχω ἀτρεκῶς ξυμβαλεῖν οὔτε μέλει ἔμοιγε εἰκάζειν· ἐκεῖνο δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἄν μοι δοκῶ ἰσχυρίσασθαι, οὔτε μικρόν τι καὶ φαῦλον

BOOK VII

I. On reaching Pasargadae and Persepolis Alexander was seized with a desire to sail down by the Euphrates and Tigris into the Persian Sea; and to see the outlets of these rivers into the sea, as he had seen the outlet of the Indus, and the ocean near it. Some historians have recorded that Alexander intended to sail round Arabia, the greater part of it, and Aethiopia and Libya and the Nomads who are beyond Mount Atlas, right up to Gadeira in our sea; then if he had subdued Libya and Carchedon, he would in just right be called King of all Asia; for, of course, the Persian and Median Kings had not held sway over even a fraction of Asia, and so had no right to call themselves Great Kings. Thence some authorities say he proposed to sail into the Euxine Sea to Scythia and Lake Maeotis; others, that he intended to make for Sicily and the Iapygian promontory; for he was already rather distressed that the Roman name was growing very widely extended.

As for what was in Alexander's mind, I for my part have no means of conjecturing with any accuracy, nor do I care to guess; this, however, I think I can for my own part asseverate, that Alex-

ἐπινοεῖν Ἀλέξανδρον οὔτε μεῖναι ἂν ἀτρε-
μοῦντα ἐπ' οὐδενὶ τῶν ἤδη κεκτημένων, οὐδὲ εἰ
τὴν Εὐρώπην τῇ Ἀσίᾳ προσέθηκεν, οὐδ' εἰ τὰς
Βρεττανῶν νήσους τῇ Εὐρώπῃ, ἀλλὰ ἔτι ἂν ἐπ'
ἐκεῖνα ζητεῖν τι τῶν ἠγνοημένων, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἄλλῳ
5 τῳ, ἀλλὰ αὐτόν γε αὑτῷ ἐρίζοντα. Καὶ ἐπὶ
τῷδε ἐπαινῶ τοὺς σοφιστὰς τῶν Ἰνδῶν, ὧν
λέγουσιν ἔστιν οὓς καταληφθέντας ὑπ' Ἀλε-
ξάνδρου ὑπαιθρίους ἐν λειμῶνι, ἵναπερ αὐτοῖς
διατριβαὶ ἦσαν, ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ποιῆσαι πρὸς
τὴν ὄψιν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς, κρούειν δὲ
τοῖς ποσὶ τὴν γῆν ἐφ' ἧς βεβηκότες ἦσαν. Ὡς
δὲ ἤρετο Ἀλέξανδρος δι' ἑρμηνέων ὅ τι νοοῖ
αὐτοῖς τὸ ἔργον, τοὺς δὲ ἀποκρίνασθαι ὧδε·
6 "Ὦ βασιλεῦ Ἀλέξανδρε, ἄνθρωπος μὲν ἕκαστος
τοσόνδε τῆς γῆς κατέχει ὅσονπερ τοῦτό ἐστιν
ἐφ' ὅτῳ βεβήκαμεν· σὺ δὲ ἄνθρωπος ὢν παρα-
πλήσιος[1] τοῖς ἄλλοις, πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι πολυ-
πράγμων καὶ ἀτάσθαλος, ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας το-
σαύτην γῆν ἐπεξέρχῃ πράγματα ἔχων τε καὶ
παρέχων ἄλλοις. Καὶ οὖν καὶ ὀλίγον ὕστερον
ἀποθανὼν τοσοῦτον καθέξεις τῆς γῆς ὅσον
ἐξαρκεῖ ἐντεθάφθαι τῷ σώματι."

II. Κἀνταῦθα ἐπῄνεσε μὲν Ἀλέξανδρος τούς τε λόγους αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς εἰπόντας, ἔπρασσε δὲ ὅμως ἄλλα καὶ τἀναντία οἷς ἐπῄνεσεν. Ἐπεὶ καὶ Διογένην τὸν ἐκ Σινώπης θαυμάσαι λέγεται, ἐν Ἰσθμῷ ἐντυχὼν τῷ Διογένει κατακειμένῳ ἐν ἡλίῳ, ἐπιστὰς ξὺν τοῖς ὑπασπισταῖς καὶ τοῖς πεζεταίροις καὶ ἐρόμενος εἴ του δέοιτο· ὁ δὲ

[1] Porson παραπλησίως, but the adj. seems necessary to balance those which follow.

ander had no small or mean conceptions, nor would ever have remained contented with any of his possessions so far, not even if he had added Europe to Asia, and the Britannic islands to Europe; but would always have searched far beyond for something unknown, being always the rival, if of no other, yet of himself. In this connection I applaud the Indian wise men, some of whom, the story goes, were found by Alexander in the open air in a meadow, where they used to have their disputations, and who, when they saw Alexander and his army, did nothing further than beat with their feet the ground on which they stood. Then when Alexander enquired by interpreters what this action of theirs meant, they replied: "O King Alexander, each man possesses just so much of the earth as this on which we stand; and you being a man like other men, save that you are full of activity and relentless, are roaming over all this earth far from your home, troubled yourself, and troubling others. But not so long hence you will die, and will possess just so much of the earth as suffices for your burial."

II. On that occasion Alexander applauded their remarks and the speakers, but he always acted diametrically opposite to that which he then applauded. For example, he is said to have expressed surprise at Diogenes of Sinope, when he found Diogenes once on the Isthmus lying in the sun; he and his bodyguard and his infantry Companions halted, and he asked if Diogenes had need of any-

Διογένης ἄλλου μὲν ἔφη δεῖσθαι οὐδενός, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου δὲ ἀπελθεῖν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτόν τε καὶ
2 τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ. Οὕτω τοι οὐ πάντη ἔξω ἦν τοῦ ἐπινοεῖν τὰ κρείττω Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀλλ' ἐκ δόξης γὰρ δεινῶς ἐκρατεῖτο. Ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐς Τάξιλα αὐτῷ ἀφικομένῳ καὶ ἰδόντι τῶν σοφιστῶν Ἰνδῶν τοὺς γυμνοὺς πόθος ἐγένετο ξυνεῖναί τινά οἱ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων, ὅτι τὴν καρτερίαν αὐτῶν ἐθαύμασε· καὶ ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτατος τῶν σοφιστῶν, ὅτου ὁμιληταὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἦσαν, Δάνδαμις ὄνομα, οὔτε αὐτὸς ἔφη παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἥξειν οὔτε
3 τοὺς ἄλλους εἴα. Ἀλλ' ἀποκρίνασθαι γὰρ λέγεται ὡς Διὸς υἱὸς καὶ αὐτὸς εἴη, εἴπερ οὖν καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ ὅτι οὔτε δέοιτό του τῶν παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἔχειν γάρ οἱ εὖ τὰ παρόντα, καὶ ἅμα ὁρᾶν τοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ πλανωμένους τοσαύτην γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ οὐδενί, μηδὲ πέρας τι αὐτοῖς γινόμενον τῶν πολλῶν πλανῶν, οὔτ' οὖν ποθεῖν τι αὐτὸς ὅτου κύριος ἦν Ἀλέξανδρος δοῦναι, οὔτ' αὖ δεδιέναι, ὅτου κρατοίη ἐκεῖνος,
4 ἔστιν οὗ εἴργεσθαι· ζῶντι μὲν γάρ οἱ τὴν Ἰνδῶν γῆν ἐξαρκεῖν, φέρουσαν τὰ ὡραῖα· ἀποθανόντα δὲ ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι οὐκ ἐπιεικοῦς ξυνοίκου τοῦ σώματος. Οὔκουν οὐδὲ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπιχειρῆσαι βιάσασθαι, γνόντα ἐλεύθερον ὄντα τὸν ἄνδρα· ἀλλὰ Κάλανον γὰρ ἀναπεισθῆναι τῶν ταύτῃ σοφιστῶν, ὅντινα μάλιστα δὴ αὐτοῦ ἀκράτορα Μεγασθένης ἀνέγραψεν αὐτοὺς τοὺς σοφιστὰς λέγειν, κακίζοντας τὸν Κάλανον ὅτι ἀπολιπὼν

thing. But he merely answered that he needed nothing else, but bade him and his followers stand out of his sunlight. So it was evident that Alexander was not incapable of higher thought, but he was, in fact, grievously under the sway of ambition. For once when he came to Taxila and saw those of the Indian wise men who go naked, he desired very much that one of these men should join him, since he so much admired their endurance. On this the oldest among these wise men, whose pupils the others were, called Dandamis, said that he would not join Alexander, and would not permit any of his school to do so. For he is said to have replied that he was just as much a son of Zeus himself as Alexander was, and that he had no need of anything from Alexander, since he was contented with what he had; he perceived, moreover, that those who were wandering about with Alexander over all those countries and seas were none the better for it, and that there was no end to their many wanderings. He did not then desire anything that Alexander could give him, nor did he fear being kept out of anything of which Alexander might be possessed. While he lived, the land of India was all he needed, giving to him its fruits in their season; and when he died, he would merely be released from an uncomfortable companion, his body. Alexander then hearing this reply had no mind to compel him, realizing that the man was indeed free. But a certain Calanus—so Megasthenes writes—one of the wise men of these parts, was persuaded to join Alexander; a man whom the wise men themselves regarded as most uncontrolled in his desires, reproaching Calanus because he deserted the happiness

τὴν παρὰ σφίσιν εὐδαιμονίαν, ὁ δὲ δεσπότην ἄλλον ἢ τὸν θεὸν ἐθεράπευε.

III. Ταῦτα ἐγὼ ἀνέγραψα, ὅτι καὶ ὑπὲρ Καλάνου ἐχρῆν εἰπεῖν ἐν τῇ περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ξυγγραφῇ· μαλακισθῆναι γάρ τι τῷ σώματι τὸν Κάλανον ἐν τῇ Περσίδι γῇ, οὔπω πρόσθεν νοσήσαντα· οὔκουν οὐδὲ δίαιταν διαιτᾶσθαι ἐθέλειν ἀρρώστου ἀνδρός, ἀλλὰ εἰπεῖν γὰρ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον, καλῶς αὐτῷ ἔχειν ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε καταστρέψαι, πρίν τινος ἐς πεῖραν ἐλθεῖν παθήματος ὅ τιπερ ἐξαναγκάσει αὐτὸν μεταβάλλειν τὴν
2 πρόσθεν δίαιταν. Καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀντειπεῖν μὲν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ πολύ· ὡς δ' οὐχ ἡττησόμενον ἑώρα, ἀλλὰ ἄλλως ἂν ἀπαλλαγέντα, εἰ μή τις ταύτῃ ὑπεικάθοι, οὕτω δὴ ὅπῃ ἐπήγγελλεν αὐτός, κελεῦσαι νησθῆναι αὐτῷ πυράν, καὶ ταύτης ἐπιμεληθῆναι Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Λάγου τὸν σωματοφύλακα. Οἱ δὲ καὶ πομπήν τινα προπομπεῦσαι αὐτοῦ λέγουσιν ἵππους τε καὶ ἄνδρας, τοὺς μὲν ὡπλισμένους, τοὺς δὲ θυμιάματα παντοῖα τῇ πυρᾷ ἐπιφέροντας· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐκπώματα χρυσᾶ καὶ ἀργυρᾶ καὶ ἐσθῆτα βασιλικὴν λέγουσιν ὅτι
3 ἔφερον. Αὐτῷ δὲ παρασκευασθῆναι μὲν ἵππον, ὅτι βαδίσαι ἀδυνάτως εἶχεν ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου· οὐ μὴν δυνηθῆναί γε οὐδὲ τοῦ ἵππου ἐπιβῆναι, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ κλίνης γὰρ κομισθῆναι φερόμενον, ἐστεφανωμένον τε τῷ Ἰνδῶν νόμῳ καὶ ᾄδοντα τῇ Ἰνδῶν γλώσσῃ. Οἱ δὲ Ἰνδοὶ λέγουσιν ὅτι ὕμνοι
4 θεῶν ἦσαν καὶ αὐτῶν ἔπαινοι. Καὶ τὸν μὲν ἵππον τοῦτον ὅτου ἐπιβήσεσθαι ἔμελλε, βασιλικὸν ὄντα τῶν Νυσαίων, πρὶν ἀναβῆναι ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὰν Λυσιμάχῳ χαρίσασθαι, τῶν τινι θερα-

which they had, while he served a master other than God.

III. All this I have narrated because it was impossible to write a history of Alexander without mention of Calanus; for he grew enfeebled in body in Persia, though he had never been ill before; and yet he would not submit to the ordinary way of life of an invalid, but said to Alexander that he was glad to make an end as he was, before he should experience any suffering which would force him to adopt a different way of life than that to which he had been used. Alexander, however, argued with him at some length; but perceiving that Calanus would not give in, but would choose some other way of death, if one should not yield to him on this point, ordered, as Calanus desired, that a pyre should be built for him, and that Ptolemaeus son of Lagus the officer of the bodyguard should be in charge of this. Some authorities relate that he had a great procession formed, horses and men, of whom some were in full armour, and others carried all sorts of incense for the pyre; others again say that they carried gold and silver cups and royal raiment. For Calanus himself a horse was made ready, since he could not walk, by reason of his illness; and yet he could not so much as mount the horse, but was borne upon a litter, lying down, crowned with garlands in the Indian fashion and singing songs in the Indian tongue. The Indians say that these songs were hymns to some gods, and their praises. The horse, on which he was to have mounted, was a royal horse, belonging to the Nysaeans, and before Calanus mounted the pyre it was given as a gift to Lysimachus, one of

πευόντων αὐτὸν ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ· τῶν δὲ δὴ ἐκπω-
μάτων ἢ στρωμάτων ὅσα ἐμβληθῆναι ἐς τὴν
πυρὰν κόσμον αὐτῷ τετάχει Ἀλέξανδρος, ἄλλα
5 ἄλλοις δοῦναι τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτόν. Οὕτω δὴ ἐπι-
βάντα τῇ πυρᾷ κατακλιθῆναι μὲν ἐν κόσμῳ,
ὁρᾶσθαι δὲ πρὸς τῆς στρατιᾶς ξυμπάσης. Ἀλε-
ξάνδρῳ δὲ οὐκ ἐπιεικὲς φανῆναι τὸ θέαμα ἐπὶ
φίλῳ ἀνδρὶ γιγνόμενον· ἀλλὰ τοῖς γὰρ ἄλλοις
θαῦμα παρασχέσθαι οὐδέν τι παρακινήσαντα ἐν
6 τῷ πυρὶ τοῦ σώματος. Ὡς δὲ τὸ πῦρ ἐς τὴν
πυρὰν ἐνέβαλον οἷς προστεταγμένον ἦν, τάς τε
σάλπιγγας φθέγξασθαι λέγει Νέαρχος, οὕτως ἐξ
Ἀλεξάνδρου προστεταγμένον, καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν
ἐπαλαλάξαι πᾶσαν ὁποῖόν τι καὶ ἐς τὰς μάχας
ἰοῦσα ἐπηλάλαζε, καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας συνεπηχῆ-
σαι τὸ ὀξὺ καὶ πολεμικόν, τιμῶντας Κάλανον.
Ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα ὑπὲρ Καλάνου τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ
ἱκανοὶ ἀναγεγράφασιν, οὐκ ἀχρεῖα πάντῃ ἐς
ἀνθρώπους, ὅτῳ γνῶναι ἐπιμελές, ὅτι ὡς καρτερόν
τε ἐστι καὶ ἀνίκητον γνώμη ἀνθρωπίνη ὅ τιπερ
ἐθέλει ἐξεργάσασθαι.

IV. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀτροπάτην μὲν
ἐπὶ τὴν αὑτοῦ σατραπείαν ἐκπέμπει παρελθὼν
ἐς Σοῦσα· Ἀβουλίτην δὲ καὶ τὸν τούτου παῖδα
Ὀξάθρην, ὅτι κακῶς ἐπεμελεῖτο τῶν Σουσίων,
2 συλλαβὼν ἀπέκτεινε. Πολλὰ μὲν δὴ πεπλημ-
μέλητο ἐκ τῶν κατεχόντων τὰς χώρας ὅσαι
δορύκτητοι πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐγένοντο ἔς τε τὰ
ἱερὰ καὶ τάφους καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς ὑπηκόους, ὅτι
χρόνιος ὁ εἰς Ἰνδοὺς στόλος ἐγεγένητο τῷ βασιλεῖ
καὶ οὐ πιστὸν ἐφαίνετο ἀπονοστήσειν αὐτὸν ἐκ
τοσῶνδε ἐθνῶν καὶ τοσῶνδε ἐλεφάντων, ὑπὲρ τὸν

those who had been his pupils in philosophy; and of the cups and coverlets which Alexander had ordered to be heaped upon the pyre, he gave some to one, and some to another, of his followers. Thus, then, he mounted the pyre and lay down with solemnity, in the sight of all the host. As for Alexander, he felt this spectacle to be unseemly, with one for whom he had an affection; as for the rest, they felt nothing but astonishment to see that Calanus flinched not one whit in the flames. And when the pyre was lit by those detailed to do so, the trumpets (says Nearchus) sounded, as Alexander had ordered, and the whole army raised the cry which they raise when entering battle, and the elephants trumpeted their shrill war-cry, in honour of Calanus. Many writers have told this story, and others like it, of Calanus the Indian, not altogether valueless to mankind, at least for anyone who cares to realize how stalwart and unflinching is human resolution to carry out that which it desires.

IV. At this time Alexander despatched Atropates to his satrapy, after he had himself proceeded to Susa. There he arrested Abulites and his son Oxathres, since he had abused his office as governor of the Susians, and put them to death. For there had been many irregularities on the part of those rulers of countries which Alexander had captured in war; whether towards temples, tombs, or the subjects themselves, since the King had been a long time on his Indian expedition, and there seemed little likelihood of his returning safe from so many tribes and so many fighting elephants, doomed

Ἰνδόν τε καὶ Ὑδάσπην καὶ τὸν Ἀκεσίνην καὶ
3 Ὕφασιν φθειρόμενον. Καὶ αἱ ἐν Γαδρωσίοις δὲ
αὐτῷ ξυμφοραὶ ξυνενεχθεῖσαι ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπῆραν
τοὺς ταύτῃ σατραπεύοντας καταφρονῆσαι αὐτοῦ
τῆς οἴκοι ἀπονοστήσεως. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ
αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος ὀξύτερος λέγεται γενέσθαι
ἐν τῷ τότε ἐς τὸ πιστεῦσαί τε τοῖς ἐπικαλου-
μένοις, ὡς πιθανοῖς δὴ ἐν παντὶ οὖσι, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ
τιμωρήσασθαι μεγάλως τοὺς καὶ ἐπὶ μικροῖς
ἐξελεγχθέντας, ὅτι καὶ τὰ μεγάλα ἂν ἐδόκουν
αὐτῷ τῇ αὐτῇ γνώμῃ ἐξεργάσασθαι.
4 Ὁ δὲ καὶ γάμους ἐποίησεν ἐν Σούσοις αὐτοῦ
τε καὶ τῶν ἑταίρων· αὐτὸς μὲν τῶν Δαρείου
θυγατέρων τὴν πρεσβυτάτην Βαρσίνην ἠγάγετο,
ὡς δὲ λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος, καὶ ἄλλην πρὸς
ταύτῃ, τῶν Ὤχου θυγατέρων τὴν νεωτάτην
Παρύσατιν. Ἤδη δὲ ἦν αὐτῷ ἠγμένη καὶ ἡ
5 Ὀξυάρτου τοῦ Βακτρίου παῖς Ῥωξάνη. Δρύ-
πετιν δὲ Ἡφαιστίωνι δίδωσι, Δαρείου παῖδα καὶ
ταύτην, ἀδελφὴν τῆς αὐτοῦ γυναικός, ἐθέλειν γάρ
οἱ ἀνεψιοὺς τῶν παίδων γενέσθαι τοὺς Ἡφαισ-
τίωνος παῖδας· Κρατέρῳ δὲ Ἀμαστρίνην τὴν
Ὀξυάρτου τοῦ Δαρείου ἀδελφοῦ παῖδα· Περδίκκᾳ
δὲ τὴν Ἀτροπάτου τοῦ Μηδίας σατράπου παῖδα
6 ἔδωκε· Πτολεμαίῳ δὲ τῷ σωματοφύλακι καὶ
Εὐμένει τῷ γραμματεῖ τῷ βασιλικῷ τὰς Ἀρτα-
βάζου παῖδας τῷ μὲν Ἀρτακαμᾶν, τῷ δὲ Ἄρτωνιν·
Νεάρχῳ δὲ τὴν Βαρσίνης τε καὶ Μέντορος παῖδα·
Σελεύκῳ δὲ τὴν Σπιταμένους τοῦ Βακτρίου παῖδα·
ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἑταίροις τὰς δοκι-
μωτάτας Περσῶν τε καὶ Μήδων παῖδας ἐς
7 ὀγδοήκοντα. Οἱ γάμοι δὲ ἐποιήθησαν νόμῳ τῷ

to perish beyond the Indus, Hydaspes, Acesines, and Hyphasis. The disasters too which he suffered in Gadrosia all the more encouraged the satraps on this side to scout any idea of his return. Not but what Alexander himself is said to have grown at this time more ready to listen to any accusations, as if they were wholly reliable, and to punish severely those who were convicted even of slight errors, because he felt they might, in the same frame of mind, commit heavier crimes.

Then he held also weddings at Susa, both his own and for his Companions; he married Dareius' eldest daughter Barsine,[1] and, as Aristobulus says, another wife besides, the youngest daughter of Ochus, Parysatis. He had already taken to wife Roxane, the daughter of Oxyartes the Bactrian. To Hephaestion he gave Drypetis, also a daughter of Dareius, sister to his own wife, for he desired that Hephaestion's children should be his own nephews and nieces; to Craterus, Amastrine daughter of Oxyartes, Dareius' brother; to Perdiccas a daughter of Atropates, the satrap of Media; to Ptolemaeus the officer of the bodyguard and Eumenes the royal secretary, the daughters of Artabazus, Artacama to Ptolemaeus, Artonis to Eumenes; to Nearchus the daughter of Barsine[2] and Mentor; to Seleucus the daughter of Spitamenes the Bactrian, and similarly to the other Companions the noblest daughters of Persians and Medes, to the number of eighty. These weddings were solemnized in the

[1] Otherwise Stateira. This may be an error of Arrian's.

[2] Alexander's earlier wife, mother of Heracles. (W. W. Tarn, *J.H.S.*, xli, pt. i, disputes this.)

Περσικῷ· θρόνοι ἐτέθησαν τοῖς νυμφίοις ἐφεξῆς καὶ μετὰ τὸν πότον ἧκον αἱ γαμούμεναι καὶ παρεκαθέζοντο ἑκάστη τῷ ἑαυτῆς· οἱ δὲ ἐδεξιώσαντό τε αὐτὰς καὶ ἐφίλησαν· πρῶτος δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἦρξεν· ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ γὰρ πάντων ἐγίγνοντο οἱ γάμοι. Καὶ τοῦτο, εἴπερ τι ἄλλο, ἔδοξε δημοτικόν τε καὶ φιλέταιρον πρᾶξαι Ἀλέξανδρον.
8 Οἱ δὲ παραλαβόντες ἀπῆγον τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἕκαστος· προῖκας δὲ ξυμπάσαις ἐπέδωκεν Ἀλέξανδρος. Καὶ ὅσοι δὲ ἄλλοι ἠγμένοι ἦσαν Μακεδόνες τῶν Ἀσιανῶν τινας γυναικῶν, ἀπογραφῆναι ἐκέλευσε καὶ τούτων τὰ ὀνόματα, καὶ ἐγένοντο ὑπὲρ τοὺς μυρίους, καὶ τούτοις δωρεαὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐδόθησαν ἐπὶ τοῖς γάμοις.

V. Καὶ τὰ χρέα ἐπιλύσασθαι τῆς στρατιᾶς ὅσοις χρέα ἦν ἐν καιρῷ οἱ ἔδοξε, καὶ κελεύει ἀπογράφεσθαι ὁπόσον ὀφείλει ἕκαστος, ὡς ληψομένους. Καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ὀλίγοι ἀπέγραψαν σφῶν τὰ ὀνόματα, δεδιότες ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου μὴ πεῖρα αὕτη εἴη καθειμένη, ὅτῳ οὐκ ἀποχρῶσα ἡ μισθοφορὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐστι καὶ ὅτῳ πολυ-
2 τελὴς ἡ δίαιτα. Ὡς δὲ ἐξήγγελτο ὅτι οὐκ ἀπογράφουσι σφᾶς οἱ πολλοί, ἀλλ' ἐπικρύπτουσιν ὅτῳ τι εἴη συμβόλαιον, τὴν μὲν ἀπιστίαν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐκάκισεν· οὐ γὰρ χρῆναι οὔτ' οὖν τὸν βασιλέα ἄλλο τι ἢ ἀληθεύειν πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους, οὔτε τῶν ἀρχομένων τινὰ ἄλλο τι ἢ ἀλη-
3 θεύειν δοκεῖν τὸν βασιλέα. Καταθεὶς δὲ τραπέζας ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων χρυσίον, τοὺς ἐπιμελησομένους τῆς δόσεως ἑκάστοις ὅστις συμβόλαιον ἐπεδείκνυτο ἐπιλύεσθαι τὰ χρέα ἐκέλευεν οὐκ ἀπογραφομένους ἔτι τὰ ὀνόματα. Καὶ οὕτω

Persian fashion; chairs were placed for the bridegrooms in order; then after the health-drinkings the brides came in, and each sat down by the side of her bridegroom; they took them by the hand and kissed them, the King setting the example; for all the weddings took place together. In this, if ever, Alexander was thought to have shown a spirit of condescension and comradeship. Then the bridegrooms having received their brides led them back to their homes, and to all Alexander gave dowries. Alexander also ordered the names of any other Macedonians who had married Asian women to be registered. They proved to be more than ten thousand, and to all Alexander gave wedding gifts.

V. This seemed a convenient moment to clear up all debts of the army, and Alexander ordered a list to be made of all debts, with a promise of settlement. At first only a few entered their names on the list, being nervous lest Alexander had merely tried an experiment to see who had not lived on their pay and who had been living extravagantly; but when Alexander learnt that most of the soldiers were not sending in their names, but concealing their bonds, he reproved the suspicions of the troops; the King, he said, must always speak truth to his subjects, and the subjects must never suppose that their King speaks anything but truth. So he had banking tables set up in the camp, with money thereon, and told the accountants charged with the distribution to cancel the debts to all who produced any bond, without so much as registering the names. So they came to believe that Alexander

δὴ ἐπίστευσάν τε ἀληθεύειν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ σὺν χάριτι μείζονι ἐγίγνετο αὐτοῖς τὸ μὴ γνωσθῆναι μᾶλλόν τι ἢ τὸ παύσασθαι ὀφείλοντας. Λέγεται δὲ γενέσθαι ἡ δόσις αὕτη τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐς τάλαντα δισμύρια.

4 Ἔδωκε δὲ καὶ δῶρα ἄλλοις ἄλλα, ὅπως τις κατ' ἀξίωσιν ἐτιμᾶτο ἢ κατ' ἀρετὴν εἴ τις ἐπιφανὴς ἐγεγόνει ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις. Καὶ ἐστεφάνωσε χρυσοῖς στεφάνοις τοὺς ἀνδραγαθίᾳ
5 διαπρέποντας, πρῶτον μὲν Πευκέσταν τὸν ὑπερασπίσαντα, ἔπειτα Λεόννατον, καὶ τοῦτον ὑπερασπίσαντα, καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἐν Ἰνδοῖς κινδύνους καὶ τὴν ἐν Ὤροις νίκην γενομένην, ὅτι παραταξάμενος σὺν τῇ ὑπολειφθείσῃ δυνάμει πρὸς τοὺς νεωτερίζοντας τῶν τε Ὠρειτῶν καὶ τῶν πλησίον τούτων ᾠκισμένων τῇ τε μάχῃ ἐκράτησε καὶ
6 τἆλλα καλῶς ἔδοξε τὰ ἐν Ὤροις κοσμῆσαι. Ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ Νέαρχον ἐπὶ τῷ περίπλῳ τῷ ἐκ τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς κατὰ τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν ἐστεφάνωσε· καὶ γὰρ καὶ οὗτος ἀφιγμένος ἤδη ἐς Σοῦσα ἦν· ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ Ὀνησίκριτον τὸν κυβερνήτην τῆς νεὼς τῆς βασιλικῆς· ἔτι δὲ Ἡφαιστίωνα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους σωματοφύλακας.

VI. Ἧκον δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ σατράπαι οἱ ἐκ τῶν πόλεών τε τῶν νεοκτίστων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης γῆς τῆς δοριαλώτου, παῖδας ἡβάσκοντας ἤδη ἐς τρισμυρίους ἄγοντες, τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίαν γεγονότας, οὓς Ἐπιγόνους ἐκάλει Ἀλέξανδρος, κεκοσμημένους Μακεδονικοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ τὰ πολέμια ἐς τὸν τρόπον τὸν Μακεδονικὸν ἠσκημένους.
2 Καὶ οὗτοι ἀφικόμενοι λέγονται ἀνιᾶσαι Μακεδόνας, ὡς πάντα δὴ μηχανωμένου Ἀλεξάνδρου

spoke truth, and they were more gratified by the concealment of their names than by the cancellation of the debts. This gift of his to the army is said to have amounted to twenty thousand talents.

He gave also various other gifts, according to the repute in which anyone was held, or to valour shown conspicuously in dangers. He also decorated with golden crowns those distinguished for bravery—Peucestas, first, who saved his life; then Leonnatus, who did likewise, and also for his risks run in India and his victory among the Orians, and because he faced, with the forces remaining to him, the rebel Oreitans and their neighbours, and beat them in the battle; and also for all his other dispositions which he had satisfactorily made among the Orians. Then, besides, he decorated Nearchus for his coasting voyage from India by way of the ocean; for Nearchus also had now arrived at Susa; and next, Onesicritus, the helmsman of the royal ship; also Hephaestion and the rest of the bodyguards.

VI. Then there came to him also the governors of the new cities which he had founded, and of the provinces he had captured besides, bringing about thirty thousand youths, all of the same age, whom Alexander called his "Successors," all dressed in Macedonian dress and trained to warlike exercises on the Macedonian system. Their arrival is said to have annoyed the Macedonians, as if Alexander was contriving every means of dispensing with

ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηκέτι ὡσαύτως δεῖσθαι Μακεδόνων·
εἶναι γὰρ οὖν καὶ τὴν Μηδικὴν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου
στολὴν ἄλγος οὐ σμικρὸν Μακεδόσιν ὁρωμένην,
καὶ τοὺς γάμους ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τῷ Περσικῷ ποιη-
θέντας οὐ πρὸς θυμοῦ γενέσθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς
αὐτῶν, οὐδὲ τῶν γημάντων ἔστιν οἷς, καίτοι τῇ
ἰσότητι τῇ ἐς τὸν βασιλέα μεγάλως τετιμημένοις.
3 Πευκέστας τε ὁ Περσῶν σατράπης τῇ τε σκευῇ
καὶ τῇ φωνῇ περσίζων ἐλύπει αὐτούς, ὅτι τῷ
βαρβαρισμῷ αὐτοῦ ἔχαιρεν Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ οἱ
Βακτρίων δὲ καὶ οἱ Σογδιανῶν καὶ Ἀραχώτων
ἱππεῖς, καὶ Ζαράγγων δὲ καὶ Ἀρείων καὶ Παρ-
θυαίων καὶ ἐκ Περσῶν οἱ Εὐάκαι καλούμενοι
ἱππεῖς καταλοχισθέντες ἐς τὴν ἵππον τὴν ἑταιρι-
κὴν ὅσοι αὐτῶν κατ᾽ ἀξίωσιν καὶ κάλλει τοῦ
σώματος ἢ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἀρετῇ ὑπερφέροντες ἐφαί-
4 νοντο, καὶ πέμπτη ἐπὶ τούτοις ἱππαρχία προσ-
γενομένη, οὐ βαρβαρικὴ ἡ πᾶσα, ἀλλὰ ἐπαυξη-
θέντος γὰρ τοῦ παντὸς ἱππικοῦ κατελέγησαν ἐς
αὐτὸ τῶν βαρβάρων, τῷ τε ἀγήματι προσκατα-
λεγέντες Κωφήν τε ὁ Ἀρταβάζου καὶ Ὑδάρνης
καὶ Ἀρτιβόλης οἱ Μαζαίου, καὶ Σισίνης καὶ
Φραδασμένης οἱ Φραταφέρνου τοῦ Παρθυαίων
καὶ Ὑρκανίας σατράπου παῖδες, καὶ Ἱστάνης
Ὀξυάρτου μὲν παῖς, Ῥωξάνης δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς
5 Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀδελφός. Καὶ Αὐτοβάρης καὶ ὁ
τούτου ἀδελφὸς Μιθροβαῖος, καὶ ἡγεμὼν ἐπὶ
τούτοις ἐπισταθεὶς Ὑστάσπης ὁ Βάκτριος, καὶ
τούτοις δόρατα Μακεδονικὰ ἀντὶ τῶν βαρβαρικῶν
μεσαγκύλων δοθέντα, ταῦτα πάντα ἐλύπει τοὺς
Μακεδόνας, ὡς πάντῃ δὴ βαρβαρίζοντος τῇ
γνώμῃ Ἀλεξάνδρου, τὰ δὲ Μακεδονικὰ νόμιμά
τε καὶ αὐτοὺς Μακεδόνας ἐν ἀτίμῳ χώρᾳ ἄγοντος.

Macedonians in future; in fact they had been greatly pained to see Alexander wearing the Median robes, and his Persian marriage ceremonies had not given satisfaction to most of them; indeed, not even to some of the bridegrooms, though they had been highly honoured by their being thus raised to a level with the King. Then they were indignant that Peucestas the satrap of Persia was aping Persian ways both in dress and speech, and more, that Alexander seemed to like his Oriental habits; then again, Bactrian, Sogdian, and Arachotian cavalry, and Zarangians, Areians, Parthyaeans, and of the Persians those called the Evacae, were brigaded with the Companions' Cavalry, that is, those who seemed conspicuous for handsomeness or some other excellence. Then, too, apart from these, a fifth cavalry regiment was added, not entirely Oriental, but the whole cavalry force being increased, some of the Orientals were specially picked for it; into the special squadron were enrolled Cophen the son of Artabazus[1] and Hydarnes and Artiboles sons of Mazaeus, Sisines and Phradasmenes, sons of Phrataphernes the satrap of Parthyaea and Hyrcania, and Histanes son of Oxyartes and brother of Roxane, Alexander's wife. Autobares also, and his brother Mithrobaeus; and as commander over all these was appointed Hystaspes the Bactrian, and they were given Macedonian spears instead of the Oriental javelins. All this caused indignation to the Macedonians, as giving an idea that Alexander's heart was growing entirely Orientalized, and that he paid little consideration to Macedonian customs and Macedonians themselves.

[1] Brother, therefore, of Barsine, widow of Memnon. See IV. 7, above.

VII. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τῆς μὲν πεζῆς στρατιᾶς τὴν πολλὴν Ἡφαιστίωνα ἄγειν κελεύει ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν Περσικήν. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναπλεύσαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἐς τὴν Σουσίαν γῆν ἐπιβὰς τῶν νεῶν ξὺν τοῖς ὑπασπισταῖς τε καὶ τῷ ἀγήματι καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τῶν ἑταίρων ἀναβιβασάμενος οὐ πολλοὺς κατέπλει κατὰ τὸν
2 Εὐλαῖον ποταμὸν ὡς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν. Ἤδη δὲ πλησίον ὢν τῆς ἐκβολῆς τῆς ἐς τὸν πόντον τὰς μὲν πλείονάς τε καὶ πεπονηκυίας τῶν νεῶν καταλείπει αὐτοῦ· αὐτὸς δὲ ταῖς μάλιστα ταχυναυτούσαις παρέπλει ἀπὸ τοῦ Εὐλαίου ποταμοῦ κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Τίγρητος· αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι αὐτῷ νῆες ἀνακομισθεῖσαι κατὰ τὸν Εὐλαῖον ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν διώρυχα ἣ τέτμηται ἐκ τοῦ Τίγρητος ἐς τὸν Εὐλαῖον, ταύτῃ διεκομίσθησαν ἐς τὸν Τίγρητα.

3 Τῶν γὰρ δὴ ποταμῶν τοῦ τε Εὐφράτου καὶ τοῦ Τίγρητος, οἳ τὴν μέσην σφῶν Συρίαν ἀπείργουσιν, ὅθεν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα Μεσοποταμία πρὸς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων κληΐζεται, ὁ μὲν Τίγρης πολύ τι ταπεινότερος ῥέων τοῦ Εὐφράτου διώρυχάς τε πολλὰς ἐκ τοῦ Εὐφράτου ἐς αὐτὸν δέχεται καὶ πολλοὺς ἄλλους ποταμοὺς παραλαβὼν καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν αὐξηθεὶς ἐσβάλλει ἐς τὸν πόντον τὸν Περσικόν,
4 μέγας τε καὶ οὐδαμοῦ διαβατὸς ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκβολήν, καθότι οὐ καταναλίσκεται αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν ἐς τὴν χώραν. Ἔστι γὰρ μετεωροτέρα ἡ ταύτῃ γῆ τοῦ ὕδατος, οὐδὲ ἐκδίδωσιν οὗτος κατὰ τὰς διώρυχας οὐδὲ ἐς ἄλλον ποταμόν, ἀλλὰ δέχεται γὰρ ἐκείνους μᾶλλον· ἄρδεσθαί τε ἀπὸ οὗ τὴν
5 χώραν οὐδαμῇ παρέχει. Ὁ δὲ Εὐφράτης με-

VII. Alexander now gave orders to Hephaestion to take the greater portion of the infantry force to the Persian Sea. Then, his fleet having put in to Susian territory, he himself embarked with his bodyguards and the special squadron of cavalry, and also taking on board a few of the Companions' cavalry, he sailed down the river Eulaeus to the sea. And being now not far from the estuary he left there most of his ships, and those which were in a bad way; and himself with the faster sailers coasted by sea from the river Eulaeus towards the mouths of the Tigris; and the rest of his flotilla, sailing up the Eulaeus as far as the canal cut between the Tigris and Eulaeus, in this way sailed into the Tigris.

Now, of these two rivers, the Euphrates and the Tigris, which are the boundaries of so much of Syria as lies between them—and hence the name Mesopotamia is given to it by the inhabitants—the Tigris, which runs through much lower ground, receives many canals from the Euphrates, and also takes in many tributaries besides, and being much increased in volume thereby runs into the Persian ocean, a large river, and not to be forded at any point up to its mouth, since no portion of it whatever is spent upon the land. For here the country is all higher than the river, and the Tigris therefore loses none of its stream to any other river, by means of canals, but rather receives them into itself; and hence it does not permit irrigation of its country from its own waters. The Euphrates, however,

τέωρός τε ῥεῖ καὶ ἰσοχειλὴς πανταχοῦ τῇ γῇ, καὶ διώρυχές τε πολλαὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πεποίηνται, αἱ μὲν ἀέναοι, ἀφ' ὧν ὑδρεύονται οἱ παρ' ἑκάτερα ᾠκισμένοι· τὰς δὲ καὶ πρὸς καιρὸν ποιοῦνται, ὁπότε σφίσιν ὕδατος ἐνδεῶς ἔχοι, ἐς τὸ ἐπάρδειν τὴν χώραν· οὐ γὰρ ὕεται τὸ πολὺ ἡ γῆ αὕτη ἐξ οὐρανοῦ· καὶ οὕτως ἐς οὐ πολὺ ὕδωρ ὁ Εὐφράτης τελευτῶν καὶ τεναγῶδες τοῦτο, οὕτως ἀποπαύεται.

6 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ περιπλεύσας κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν ὅσον μεταξὺ τοῦ τε Εὐλαίου ποταμοῦ καὶ τοῦ Τίγρητος ἐπεῖχεν ὁ αἰγιαλὸς τοῦ κόλπου τοῦ Περσικοῦ, ἀνέπλει κατὰ τὸν Τίγρητα ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἵνα Ἡφαιστίων αὐτῷ τὴν δύναμιν πᾶσαν ἔχων ἐστρατοπεδεύκει. Ἐκεῖθεν δὲ αὖθις ἔπλει ἐς Ὦπιν, πόλιν ἐπὶ τοῦ Τίγρητος ᾠκισμένην.
7 Ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀνάπλῳ τοὺς καταρράκτας τοὺς κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἀφανίζων ὁμαλὸν πάντῃ ἐποίει τὸν ῥοῦν, οἳ δὴ ἐκ Περσῶν πεποιημένοι ἦσαν, τοῦ μή τινα ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀναπλεῦσαι εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν νηΐτῃ στόλῳ κρατήσαντα. Ταῦτα δὲ μεμηχάνητο ἅτε δὴ οὐ ναυτικοῖς τοῖς Πέρσαις· οὕτω δὴ συνεχεῖς οἱ καταρράκται πεποιημένοι ἄπορον τὸν ἀνάπλουν ἐποίουν τὸν κατὰ τὸν Τίγρητα. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ οὐκ ἔφη τῶν κρατούντων τοῖς ὅπλοις εἶναι τὰ τοιαῦτα σοφίσματα· οὔκουν πρὸς αὑτοῦ ἐποιεῖτο ταύτην τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, ἥντινα ἔργῳ οὐδὲ λόγου ἀξίαν ἀπέφηνεν, οὐ χαλεπῶς διακόψας τῶν Περσῶν τὰ σπουδάσματα.

VIII. Ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ὦπιν ἀφίκετο, ξυναγαγὼν τοὺς Μακεδόνας προεῖπεν ὅτι τοὺς ὑπὸ γήρως ἢ

runs on a higher valley-bed, its stream runs flush with its land, all along its course, and many canals have been cut from it, some always running—and from these those who live on either side get their water—others, however, they make only as need dictates, whenever the ground grows thirsty, to irrigate the land; for the greater part of this territory receives no rain; and thus the Euphrates finishes with a diminished stream, and that too spread over marshy land.

Alexander now sailed round by sea the distance of the shore of the Persian gulf between the Eulaeus and the Tigris, and then sailed up the Tigris to the camp where Hephaestion had encamped with all his force. Thence again he sailed to Opis, a city built on the Tigris. During this voyage upstream he removed the weirs in the river and made the stream level throughout; these weirs had been made by the Persians to prevent anyone sailing up to their country overmastering it by a naval force. All this had been contrived by the Persians, inexpert as they were in maritime matters; and so these weirs, built up at frequent intervals, made the voyage up the Tigris very difficult. Alexander, however, said that contrivances of this kind belonged to those who had no military supremacy; he therefore regarded these safeguards as of no value to himself, and indeed proved them not worth mention by destroying with ease these labours of the Persians.

VIII. On reaching Opis, Alexander summoned his Macedonians and announced that those who

πηρώσεως τοῦ σώματος ἀχρείους ἐς τὰ πολέμια ὄντας παραλύει μὲν τῆς στρατιᾶς, ἀποπέμπει δὲ ἐς τὰ σφέτερα ἤθη· ἐπιδώσει δὲ ἀπιοῦσιν[1] ὅσα αὐτούς τε ζηλωτοτέρους ποιήσει τοῖς οἴκοι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Μακεδόνας ἐξορμήσει ἐς τὸ ἐθέλειν τῶν αὐτῶν κινδύνων τε καὶ πόνων μετέχειν.
2 Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν ὡς χαριούμενος δῆθεν τοῖς Μακεδόσι ταῦτα ἔλεγεν· οἱ δὲ ὡς ὑπερορώμενοί τε ἤδη πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ ἀχρεῖοι πάντη ἐς τὰ πολέμια νομιζόμενοι οὐκ ἀλόγως αὖ τῷ λόγῳ ἠχθέσθησαν τῷ πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου λεχθέντι, κατὰ τὴν στρατιὰν ταύτην πᾶσαν πολλοῖς καὶ ἄλλοις ἀχθεσθέντες, ὅτι πολλάκις ἤδη ἐλύπει αὐτοὺς ἥ τε ἐσθὴς ἡ Περσικὴ ἐς τοῦτο φέρουσα καὶ τῶν Ἐπιγόνων τῶν βαρβάρων ἡ ἐς τὰ Μακεδονικὰ ἤθη κόσμησις καὶ ἀνάμιξις τῶν ἀλλοφύλων
3 ἱππέων ἐς τὰς τῶν ἑταίρων τάξεις. Οὔκουν σιγῇ ἔχοντες ἐκαρτέρησαν, ἀλλὰ πάντας γὰρ ἀπαλλάττειν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐκέλευον, αὐτὸν δὲ μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς στρατεύεσθαι, τὸν Ἄμμωνα δὴ τῷ λόγῳ ἐπικερτομοῦντες. Ταῦτα ἀκούσας Ἀλέξανδρος (ἦν γὰρ δὴ ὀξύτερός τε ἐν τῷ τότε καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς βαρβαρικῆς θεραπείας οὐκέτι ὡς πάλαι ἐπιεικὴς ἐς τοὺς Μακεδόνας), καταπηδήσας σὺν τοῖς ἀμφ᾽ αὐτὸν ἡγεμόσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ξυλλαβεῖν τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν ταραξάντων τὸ πλῆθος κελεύει, αὐτὸς τῇ χειρὶ ἐπιδεικνύων τοῖς ὑπασπισταῖς οὕστινας χρὴ συλλαμβάνειν· καὶ ἐγένοντο οὗτοι ἐς τρεῖς καὶ δέκα. Τούτους μὲν δὴ ἀπάγειν κελεύει τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ. Ὡς δὲ

[1] ἀπιοῦσιν Krüger, for MSS. μένουσιν, perhaps an error of Arrian's. Roos deletes μένουσιν.

from old age or from mutilations were unfit for service he there discharged from the army; and he sent them to their own homes. He promised to give them on departure enough to make them objects of greater envy to those at home, and also stir up the rest of the Macedonians to a zeal for sharing his own dangers and toils. Alexander for his part said this, no doubt, to flatter the Macedonians; they, however, feeling that Alexander rather despised them, by this time, and regarded them as altogether useless for warfare, quite naturally, for their part, were annoyed at his remarks, having been annoyed during this whole campaign with a great deal else, since he caused them indignation frequently by his Persian dress which seemed to point the same way, and the Macedonian equipment of the Oriental "Successors," and the importation of cavalry of foreign tribes into the ranks of the Companions. They did not, then, restrain themselves and keep silence, but called upon him to release them all from the army, and bade him carry on war with the help of his sire (by which title they hinted slightingly at Ammon). When, then, Alexander heard this—for he had grown worse-tempered at that time, and Oriental subservience had rendered him less disposed than before to the Macedonians—he leapt down from the platform with the officers that were about him, and bade them arrest the foremost of those who had disturbed the multitude, himself with his finger pointing out to the guards whom they were to arrest; they were in number thirteen. These he ordered to be marched off to die;

κατεσιώπησαν οἱ ἄλλοι ἐκπλαγέντες, ἀναβὰς αὖθις ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἔλεξεν ὧδε.

IX. "Οὐχ ὑπὲρ τοῦ καταπαῦσαι ὑμῶν τὴν οἴκαδε ὁρμήν, ὦ Μακεδόνες, λεχθήσεταί μοι ὅδε ὁ λόγος, ἔξεστι γὰρ ὑμῖν ἀπιέναι ὅποι βούλεσθε ἐμοῦ γε ἕνεκα, ἀλλ' ὡς γνῶναι ὑμᾶς πρὸς ὁποίους τινὰς ἡμᾶς ὄντας ὁποῖοί τινες αὐτοὶ γενόμενοι
2 ἀπαλλάσσεσθε. Καὶ πρῶτά γε ἀπὸ Φιλίππου τοῦ πατρός, ἥπερ καὶ εἰκός, τοῦ λόγου ἄρξομαι. Φίλιππος γὰρ παραλαβὼν ὑμᾶς πλανήτας καὶ ἀπόρους, ἐν διφθέραις τοὺς πολλοὺς νέμοντας ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρη πρόβατα ὀλίγα καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων κακῶς μαχομένους Ἰλλυριοῖς τε καὶ Τριβαλλοῖς καὶ τοῖς ὁμόροις Θρᾳξί, χλαμύδας μὲν ὑμῖν ἀντὶ τῶν διφθερῶν φορεῖν ἔδωκε, κατήγαγε δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν ἐς τὰ πεδία, ἀξιομάχους καταστήσας τοῖς προσχώροις τῶν βαρβάρων, ὡς μὴ χωρίων ἔτι ὀχυρότητι πιστεύοντας μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ οἰκείᾳ ἀρετῇ σώζεσθαι· πόλεών τε οἰκήτορας ἀπέφηνε καὶ νόμοις καὶ ἔθεσι χρηστοῖς ἐκόσμησεν.
3 Αὐτῶν δὲ ἐκείνων τῶν βαρβάρων, ὑφ' ὧν πρόσθεν ἤγεσθε καὶ ἐφέρεσθε αὐτοί τε καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα, ἡγεμόνας κατέστησεν ἐκ δούλων καὶ ὑπηκόων, καὶ τῆς Θρᾴκης τὰ πολλὰ τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ προσέθηκε, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ χωρίων τὰ ἐπικαιρότατα καταλαβόμενος τὴν ἐμπορίαν τῇ χώρᾳ ἀνεπέτασε, καὶ τῶν μετάλλων τὴν
4 ἐργασίαν ἀδεῆ παρέσχε· Θεσσαλῶν δὲ ἄρχοντας, οὓς πάλαι ἐτεθνήκειτε τῷ δέει, ἀπέφηνε, καὶ τὸ Φωκέων ἔθνος ταπεινώσας τὴν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πάροδον πλατεῖαν καὶ εὔπορον ἀντὶ στενῆς τε καὶ ἀπόρου ὑμῖν ἐποίησεν· Ἀθηναίους τε καὶ

but as the others, amazed, remained in dead silence, he remounted the platform and spoke thus.

IX. "I now propose to speak, Macedonians, not with a view to checking your homeward impulse; so far as I am concerned, you may go where you will; but that you may know, if you do so go away, how you have behaved to us, and how we have behaved to you. First then I shall begin my speech with my father Philip, as is right and proper. For Philip found you vagabonds and helpless, most of you clothed with sheepskins, pasturing a few sheep on the mountain sides, and fighting for these, with ill success, against Illyrians and Triballians, and the Thracians on your borders; Philip gave you cloaks to wear, in place of sheepskins, brought you down from the hills to the plains, made you doughty opponents of your neighbouring enemies, so that you trusted now not so much to the natural strength of your villages as to your own courage. Nay, he made you dwellers of cities, and civilized you with good laws and customs. Then of those very tribes to whom you submitted, and by whom you and your goods were harried, he made you masters, no longer slaves and subjects; and he added most of Thrace to Macedonia, and seizing the most convenient coast towns, opened up commerce to your country, and enabled you to work your mines in peace. Then he made you overlords of the Thessalians, before whom you had long died of terror, and humbling the Phocians, made the high-road into Greece broad and easy for you, whereas it had been narrow and difficult. Athens and Thebes,

Θηβαίους, ἐφεδρεύοντας ἀεὶ τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ, ἐς
τοσόνδε ἐταπείνωσεν, ἤδη ταῦτά γε καὶ ἡμῶν
αὐτῷ ξυμπονούντων, ὡς ἀντὶ τοῦ φόρους τελεῖν
Ἀθηναίοις καὶ ὑπακούειν Θηβαίων, παρ' ἡμῶν ἐν
τῷ μέρει ἐκείνους τὴν ἀσφάλειάν σφισι πορί-
5 ζεσθαι. Ἐς Πελοπόννησον δὲ παρελθὼν τὰ
ἐκεῖ αὖ ἐκόσμησε· καὶ ἡγεμὼν αὐτοκράτωρ
συμπάσης τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἀποδειχθεὶς τῆς
ἐπὶ τὸν Πέρσην στρατείας οὐχ ἑαυτῷ μᾶλλόν τι
τὴν δόξαν τήνδε ἢ τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Μακεδόνων
προσέθηκε.

6 "Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἐς
ὑμᾶς ὑπηργμένα, ὡς μὲν αὐτὰ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν
σκέψασθαι μεγάλα, μικρὰ δὲ ὥς γε δὴ πρὸς τὰ
ἡμέτερα ξυμβαλεῖν· ὃς παραλαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ
πατρὸς χρυσᾶ μὲν καὶ ἀργυρᾶ ἐκπώματα ὀλίγα,
τάλαντα δὲ οὐδὲ ἑξήκοντα ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς,
χρεῶν δὲ ὀφειλόμενα ὑπὸ Φιλίππου ἐς πεντα-
κόσια τάλαντα, δανεισάμενος ἐπὶ τούτοις αὐτὸς
ἄλλα ὀκτακόσια ὁρμηθεὶς ἐκ τῆς χώρας τῆς γε
οὐδὲ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς βοσκούσης καλῶς εὐθὺς μὲν
τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου ὑμῖν τὸν πόρον θαλασσοκρα-
7 τούντων ἐν τῷ τότε Περσῶν ἀνεπέτασα· κρατή-
σας δὲ τῇ ἵππῳ τοὺς σατράπας τοῦ Δαρείου τήν
τε Ἰωνίαν πᾶσαν τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ἀρχῇ προσέθηκα
καὶ τὴν Αἰολίδα πᾶσαν καὶ Φρύγας ἀμφοτέρους
καὶ Λυδούς, καὶ Μίλητον εἷλον πολιορκίᾳ· τὰ
δὲ ἄλλα πάντα ἑκόντα προσχωρήσαντα λαβὼν
8 ὑμῖν καρποῦσθαι ἔδωκα· καὶ τὰ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου
καὶ Κυρήνης ἀγαθά, ὅσα ἀμαχεὶ ἐκτησάμην,
ὑμῖν ἔρχεται· ἥ τε κοίλη Συρία καὶ ἡ Πα-
λαιστίνη καὶ ἡ μεση τῶν ποταμῶν ὑμέτερον

always watching their chance to destroy Macedon, he so completely humbled—ourselves by this time sharing these his labours—that instead of our paying tribute to Athens and obeying Thebes, they had to win from us in turn their right to exist. Then he passed into the Peloponnese, and put all in due order there; and now being declared overlord of all the rest of Greece for the expedition against Persia, he won this new prestige not so much for himself as for all the Macedonian people.

"All these noble deeds of my father towards you are great indeed, if looked at by themselves, and yet small, if compared with ours. I inherited from my father a few gold and silver cups, and not so much as sixty talents in his treasure; and of debts owed by Philip as much as five hundred talents, and yet having myself borrowed over and above these another eight hundred, I set forth from that country which hardly maintained you in comfort and at once opened to you the strait of the Hellespont, though the Persians were then masters of the sea; then, crushing with my cavalry Dareius' satraps, I added to your empire all Ionia, all Aeolia, Upper and Lower Phrygia, and Lydia; Miletus I took by siege; all else I took by surrender and gave to you to reap the fruits thereof. All good things from Egypt and Cyrene, which I took without striking a blow, come to you; Coele-Syria, and Palestine and Meso-

κτῆμά εἰσι· καὶ Βαβυλὼν καὶ Βάκτρα καὶ Σοῦσα
ὑμέτερα· καὶ ὁ Λυδῶν πλοῦτος καὶ οἱ Περσῶν
θησαυροὶ καὶ τὰ Ἰνδῶν ἀγαθὰ καὶ ἡ ἔξω
θάλασσα ὑμέτερα· ὑμεῖς σατράπαι, ὑμεῖς στρα-
9 τηγοί, ὑμεῖς ταξιάρχαι. Ὡς ἔμοιγε αὐτῷ τί
περίεστιν ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν πόνων ὅτι μὴ αὕτη
ἡ πορφύρα καὶ τὸ διάδημα τοῦτο; κέκτημαι δὲ
ἰδίᾳ οὐδέν, οὐδὲ ἔχει τις ἀποδεῖξαι θησαυροὺς
ἐμοὺς ὅτι μὴ ταῦτα ὑμέτερα κτήματα ἢ ὅσα
ἕνεκα ὑμῶν φυλάττεται. Ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ ἔστιν ἰδίᾳ
μοι ἐς ὅ τι φυλάξω αὐτούς, σιτουμένῳ τε τὰ
αὐτὰ ὑμῖν σιτία καὶ ὕπνον τὸν αὐτὸν αἱρουμένῳ·
καίτοι οὐδὲ σιτία ἐμοὶ δοκῶ τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς τρυφῶ-
σιν ὑμῶν σιτεῖσθαι· προαγρυπνῶν δὲ ὑμῶν οἶδα,
ὡς καθεύδειν ἔχητε ὑμεῖς.

X. "Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα γὰρ ὑμῶν πονούντων καὶ
ταλαιπωρουμένων ἐκτησάμην αὐτὸς ἀπόνως καὶ
ἀταλαιπώρως ἐξηγούμενος. Καὶ τίς ὑμῶν πονή-
σας οἶδεν ἐμοῦ μᾶλλον[1] ἢ ἐγὼ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου;
ἄγε δὴ καὶ ὅτῳ τραύματα ὑμῶν ἐστὶ γυμνώσας
αὐτὰ ἐπιδειξάτω καὶ ἐγὼ τὰ ἐμὰ ἐπιδείξω ἐν
2 μέρει· ὡς ἔμοιγε οὐκ ἔστιν ὅ τι τοῦ σώματος τῶν
γε δὴ ἔμπροσθεν μερῶν ἄτρωτον ὑπολέλειπται,
οὐδὲ ὅπλον τι ἔστιν ἢ ἐκ χειρὸς ἢ τῶν ἀφιεμένων
οὗ γε οὐκ ἴχνη ἐν ἐμαυτῷ φέρω· ἀλλὰ καὶ ξίφει
ἐκ χειρὸς τέτρωμαι καὶ τετόξευμαι ἤδη καὶ ἀπὸ
μηχανῆς βέβλημαι καὶ λίθοις πολλαχῇ καὶ
ξύλοις παιόμενος ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας
δόξης καὶ τοῦ ὑμετέρου πλούτου, νικῶντας ὑμᾶς

[1] μᾶλλον—here Krüger and others mark a lacuna; but we have already seen Arrian often illogical through brachylogy, though he is usually verbose.

potamia are your own possessions; Babylon is yours, Bactria, and Susa; the wealth of Lydia, the treasures of Persia, the good things of India, the outer ocean, all are yours; you are satraps, you guards, you captains. So what is left for myself from all these toils save the purple and this diadem? I have taken nothing to myself, nor can anyone show treasures of mine, save these possessions of yours, or what is being safeguarded for you. For there is nothing as concerns myself for which I should reserve them, since I eat the same food that you eat, and have such sleep as you have—and yet I hardly think that I do eat the same food as some of you, who live delicately; I know, moreover, that I wake before you, that you may sleep quietly in your beds.

X. "Yet you may feel that while you were enduring the toils and distresses, I have acquired all this without toil and without distress. But who of you is conscious of having endured more toil for me than I for him? Or see here, let any who carries wounds strip himself and show them; I too will show mine. For I have no part of my body, in front at least, that is left without scars; there is no weapon, used at close quarters, or hurled from afar, of which I do not carry the mark. Nay, I have been wounded by the sword, hand to hand; I have been shot with arrows, I have been struck from a catapult, smitten many a time with stones and clubs, for you, for your glory, for your wealth; I lead you conquerors through

ἄγω διὰ πάσης γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ πάντων
3 ποταμῶν καὶ ὀρῶν καὶ πεδίων πάντων. Γάμους τε ὑμῖν τοὺς αὐτοὺς γεγάμηκα καὶ πολλῶν ὑμῶν οἱ παῖδες συγγενεῖς ἔσονται τοῖς παισὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς. Ἔτι δὲ ᾧ χρέα ἦν, οὐ πολυπραγμονήσας ἐφ' ὅτῳ ἐγένετο, τοσαῦτα μὲν μισθοφορούντων, τοσαῦτα δὲ ἁρπαζόντων, ὁπότε ἐκ πολιορκίας ἁρπαγὴ γίγνοιτο, διαλέλυμαι ταῦτα. Στέφανοί τε χρυσοῖ τοῖς πλείστοις ὑμῶν εἰσὶ μνημεῖα τῆς τε ἀρετῆς τῆς ὑμετέρας καὶ τῆς ἐξ ἐμοῦ τιμῆς
4 ἀθάνατα. Ὅστις δὲ δὴ καὶ ἀπέθανεν, εὐκλεὴς μὲν αὐτῷ ἡ τελευτὴ ἐγένετο, περιφανὴς δὲ ὁ τάφος· χαλκαῖ δὲ αἱ εἰκόνες τῶν πλείστων οἴκοι ἑστᾶσιν, οἱ γονεῖς δ' ἔντιμοί εἰσι, λειτουργίας τε ξυμπάσης καὶ εἰσφορᾶς ἀπηλλαγμένοι· οὐ γάρ τίς γε φεύγων ὑμῶν ἐτελεύτα ἐμοῦ ἄγοντος.

5 "Καὶ νῦν τοὺς ἀπολέμους ὑμῶν ζηλωτοὺς τοῖς οἴκοι ἀποπέμψειν ἔμελλον· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ πάντες ἀπιέναι βούλεσθε, ἄπιτε πάντες, καὶ ἀπελθόντες οἴκοι ἀπαγγείλατε ὅτι τὸν βασιλέα ὑμῶν Ἀλέξανδρον, νικῶντα μὲν Πέρσας καὶ
6 Μήδους καὶ Βακτρίους καὶ Σάκας, καταστρεψάμενον δὲ Οὐξίους τε καὶ Ἀραχώτους καὶ Δράγγας, κεκτημένον δὲ καὶ Παρθυαίους καὶ Χωρασμίους καὶ Ὑρκανίους ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν Κασπίαν, ὑπερβάντα δὲ τὸν Καύκασον ὑπὲρ τὰς Κασπίας πύλας, καὶ περάσαντα Ὦξόν τε ποταμὸν καὶ Τάναϊν, ἔτι δὲ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμόν, οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ ὅτι μὴ Διονύσῳ περαθέντα, καὶ τὸν Ὑδάσπην καὶ τὸν Ἀκεσίνην καὶ τὸν Ὑδραώτην,
7 καὶ τὸν Ὕφασιν διαπεράσαντα ἄν, εἰ μὴ ὑμεῖς ἀπωκνήσατε, καὶ εἰς τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν κατ'

every land, every sea, every river, mountain, plain. I married as you married; the children of many of you will be blood-relations of my children. Moreover, if any had debts, I, being no busybody to enquire how they were made, when you were winning so much pay, and acquiring so much plunder, whenever there was plunder after a siege—I have cancelled them all. And further, golden coronals are reminders to the most part of you, both of your bravery and of my high regard—reminders that will never perish. Whosoever has died, his death has been glorious; and splendid has been his burial. To most of them there stand at home brazen statues; their parents are held in esteem, and have been freed from all services and taxes. For while I have led you, not one of you has fallen in flight.

"And now I had in mind to send away those of you who are no longer equal to campaigning, to be the envy of all at home; but since you all wish to go home, depart, all of you; and when you reach home, tell them there that this your King, Alexander, victor over Persians, Medes, Bactrians, Sacaeans, conqueror of Uxians, Arachotians, Drangae, master of Parthyaea, Chorasmia, Hyrcania to the Caspian Sea; who crossed the Caucasus beyond the Caspian gates, who crossed the rivers Oxus and Tanais, yes, and the Indus too, that none but Dionysus had crossed, the Hydaspes, Acesines, Hydraotes; and who would further have crossed the Hyphasis, had not you shrunk back; who broke into the Indian

ἀμφότερα τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ τὰ στόματα ἐμβαλόντα, καὶ διὰ τῆς Γαδρωσίας τῆς ἐρήμου ἐλθόντα, ᾗ οὐδείς πω πρόσθεν ξὺν στρατιᾷ ἦλθε, καὶ Καρμανίαν ἐν παρόδῳ προσκτησάμενον καὶ τὴν Ὡρειτῶν γῆν, περιπεπλευκότος δὲ ἤδη αὐτῷ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τὴν ἀπ' Ἰνδῶν γῆς εἰς Πέρσας θάλασσαν, ὡς εἰς Σοῦσα ἐπανηγάγετε, ἀπολιπόντες οἴχεσθε, παραδόντες φυλάσσειν τοῖς νενικημένοις βαρβάροις. Ταῦτα ὑμῖν καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ἴσως εὐκλεᾶ καὶ πρὸς θεῶν ὅσια δήπου ἔσται ἀπαγγελθέντα. Ἄπιτε."

XI. Ταῦτα εἰπὼν κατεπήδησέ τε ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ὀξέως καὶ ἐς τὰ βασίλεια παρελθὼν οὔτε ἐθεράπευσε τὸ σῶμα οὔτε τῳ ὤφθη τῶν ἑταίρων· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίαν ὤφθη. Τῇ τρίτῃ δὲ καλέσας εἴσω τῶν Περσῶν τοὺς ἐπιλέκτους, τάς τε ἡγεμονίας αὐτοῖς τῶν τάξεων διένειμε καὶ ὅσους συγγενεῖς ἀπέφηνε, τούτοις δὲ νόμιμον
2 ἐποίησε φιλεῖν αὐτὸν μόνοις. Οἱ δὲ Μακεδόνες ἔν τε τῷ παραυτίκα ἀκούσαντες τῶν λόγων ἐκπεπληγμένοι σιγῇ ἔμενον αὐτοῦ πρὸς τῷ βήματι, οὐδέ τις ἠκολούθησε τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀπαλλαττομένῳ ὅτι μὴ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἑταῖροί τε καὶ οἱ σωματοφύλακες· οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ οὔτε μένοντες ὅ τι πράττουσιν ἢ λέγουσιν εἶχον, οὔτε ἀπαλλάσ-
3 σεσθαι ἤθελον. Ὡς δὲ τὰ Περσῶν τε καὶ Μήδων αὐτοῖς ἐξηγγέλλετο, αἵ τε ἡγεμονίαι Πέρσαις διδόμεναι καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ ἡ βαρβαρικὴ ἐς λόχους τε καταλεγομένη καὶ τὰ Μακεδονικὰ ὀνόματα ἄγημά τι Περσικὸν καλούμενον, καὶ πεζέταιροι Πέρσαι καὶ πεζέταιροι ἄλλοι[1] καὶ ἀργυρασπίδων τάξις

[1] πεζέτ. ἄλλοι as before, A ἀσθέτεροι.

Ocean by both mouths of the Indus; who traversed the Gadrosian desert—where none other had passed with an armed force; who in the line of march captured Carmania and the country of the Oreitans; whom, when his fleet had sailed from India to the Persian Sea, you led back again to Susa—tell them, I say, that you deserted him, that you took yourselves off, leaving him to the care of the wild tribes you had conquered. This, when you declare it, will be, no doubt, glorious among men, and pious in the sight of heaven. Begone!"

XI. When Alexander had finished, he leapt down swiftly from his platform and passed into the palace, and paid no attention to his bodily needs, nor was seen by any of the Companions; and, indeed, not even on the day following. But on the third day he summoned within the picked men among the Persians, and divided among them the command of the different brigades; and permitted only those who were now his relatives to give him the customary kiss. The Macedonians, however, were at the time much moved on hearing his speech; and remained in silence there, around the platform; yet no one followed the King when he departed save his personal Companions and the bodyguards; but the mass neither while remaining there had anything to do or say, nor were willing to depart. But when they heard about the Persians and the Medes, and the handing of commands to the Persians, and the Oriental force being drafted into the various ranks, and a Persian squadron called by a Macedonian name, and of Persian "infantry Companions," and others too, and a Persian

Περσικὴ καὶ ἡ τῶν ἑταίρων[1] ἵππος, καὶ ταύτης ἄλλο ἄγημα βασιλικόν, οὐκέτι καρτεροὶ σφῶν
4 ἦσαν· ἀλλὰ ξυνδραμόντες ὡς πρὸς τὰ βασίλεια τὰ μὲν ὅπλα αὐτοῦ πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν ἐρρίπτουν, ἱκετηρίας ταύτας τῷ βασιλεῖ· αὐτοὶ δ᾽ ἐβόων πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν ἑστηκότες δεόμενοι παρελθεῖν εἴσω· τούς τε αἰτίους τῆς ἐν τῷ τότε ταραχῆς καὶ τοὺς ἄρξαντας τῆς βοῆς ἐκδιδόναι ἐθέλειν· οὔκουν ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι τῶν θυρῶν οὔτε ἡμέρας οὔτε νυκτός, εἰ μή τινα οἶκτον σφῶν ἕξει Ἀλέξανδρος.

5 Ταῦτα ὡς ἀπηγγέλλετο αὐτῷ, ὁ δὲ σπουδῇ ἐξέρχεται, καὶ ἰδών τε ταπεινῶς διακειμένους καὶ ἀκούσας σὺν οἰμωγῇ τῶν πολλῶν βοώντων, καὶ αὐτῷ προχεῖται δάκρυα. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀνήγετο
6 ὥς τι ἐρῶν· οἱ δὲ ἔμενον λιπαροῦντες. Καί τις αὐτῶν καθ᾽ ἡλικίαν τε καὶ ἱππαρχίαν τῆς ἵππου τῆς ἑταιρικῆς οὐκ ἀφανής, Καλλίνης ὄνομα, τοιαῦτα εἶπεν· Ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὰ λυποῦντά ἐστι Μακεδόνας ὅτι σὺ Περσῶν μέν τινας ἤδη πεποίησαι σαυτῷ συγγενεῖς, καὶ καλοῦνται Πέρσαι συγγενεῖς Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ φιλοῦσί σε· Μακεδόνων δὲ οὔπω τις γέγευται ταύτης τῆς τιμῆς.
7 Ἔνθα δὴ ὑπολαβὼν Ἀλέξανδρος, Ἀλλ᾽ ὑμᾶς γε, ἔφη, ξύμπαντας ἐμαυτῷ τίθεμαι συγγενεῖς καὶ τό γε ἀπὸ τούτου οὕτω καλέσω. Ταῦτα εἰπόντα προσελθὼν ὁ Καλλίνης τε ἐφίλησεν καὶ ὅστις ἄλλος φιλῆσαι ἤθελε. Καὶ οὕτω δὴ ἀναλαβόντες τὰ ὅπλα βοῶντές τε καὶ παιωνίζοντες ἐς τὸ στρα-
8 τόπεδον ἀπῄεσαν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις θυσίαν τε θύει τοῖς θεοῖς οἷς αὐτῷ νόμος καὶ

[1] ἑταίρων query ἑτέρων: see vi. 3 above.

company of "silver-shields," and "cavalry of the Companions," and a new royal squadron even of this, they could no longer contain themselves, but running all together to the palace they threw their arms before the doors as signs of supplication to the King; they themselves standing shouting before the doors begging to be let in. The instigators of the late disturbance, and those who began the cry, they said they would give up; in fact they would depart from the doors neither day nor night unless Alexander would have some pity on them.

When this was reported to Alexander, he at once came out; and seeing them so humble, and hearing most of the number crying and lamenting, he also shed tears. Then he came forward as if to speak, and they continued beseeching. And one of them, a notable officer of the Companions' cavalry both by age and rank, called Callines, said thus: "This, O King, is what grieves the Macedonians, that you have made Persians your kinsmen and Persians are called 'Alexander's kinsmen,' and they are permitted to kiss you; but no Macedonian has tasted this privilege." On this Alexander broke in: "But all of you I regard as my kinsmen, and so from henceforth I call you." When thus he had spoken, Callines approached and kissed him, and any other who desired to kiss him. And thus they took up their arms again and returned shouting and singing their victory song to the camp. But Alexander in gratitude for this sacrificed to the gods to whom he

θοίνην δημοτελῆ ἐποίησε, καθήμενός τε αὐτὸς καὶ πάντων καθημένων ἀμφ' αὐτὸν μὲν Μακεδόνων, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐφεξῆς τούτων Περσῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν ὅσοι κατ' ἀξίωσιν ἤ τινα ἄλλην ἀρετὴν πρεσβευόμενοι, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κρατῆρος αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἀρυόμενοι ἔσπενδον τὰς αὐτὰς σπονδάς, καταρχομένων τῶν τε Ἑλλήνων μάντεων καὶ τῶν Μάγων.

9 Εὔχετο δὲ τά τε ἄλλα ἀγαθὰ καὶ ὁμόνοιάν τε καὶ κοινωνίαν τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῖς τε Μακεδόσι καὶ Πέρσαις. Εἶναι δὲ κατέχει λόγος τοὺς μετασχόντας τῆς θοίνης ἐς ἐννακισχιλίους, καὶ τούτους πάντας μίαν τε σπονδὴν σπεῖσαι καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ παιανίσαι.

XII. Ἔνθα δὴ ἐθελονταὶ ἤδη αὐτῷ ἀπῄεσαν τῶν Μακεδόνων ὅσοι διὰ γῆρας ἤ τινα ἄλλην ξυμφορὰν ἀπόλεμοι ἦσαν· καὶ οὗτοι αὐτῷ ἐγένοντο ἐς τοὺς μυρίους. Τούτοις δὲ τήν τε μισθοφορὰν οὐ τοῦ ἐξήκοντος ἤδη χρόνου ἔδωκεν Ἀλέξανδρος μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ἐς τὴν ἀπο-

2 νόστησιν τὴν οἴκαδε ξυμβαίνοντος. Ἐπέδωκε δὲ καὶ τάλαντον ἑκάστῳ ὑπὲρ τὴν μισθοφοράν· παῖδες δὲ εἴ τῳ ἦσαν ἐκ τῶν Ἀσιανῶν γυναικῶν, παρὰ οἷ καταλιπεῖν ἐκέλευσε μηδὲ στάσιν κατάγειν ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἀλλοφύλους τε καὶ ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων γυναικῶν παῖδας τοῖς οἴκοι ὑπολελειμμένοις παισί τε καὶ μητράσιν αὐτῶν· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπιμελήσεσθαι ὡς ἐκτρέφοιντο Μακεδονικῶς, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ ἐς τὰ πολέμια κοσμούμενοι· γενομένους δὲ ἄνδρας ἄξειν αὐτὸς ἐς Μακεδονίαν

3 καὶ παραδώσειν τοῖς πατράσι. Ταῦτά τε ἀπαλλαττομένοις ἀστάθμητα καὶ ἀτέκμαρτα ἀπηγ-

was wont to sacrifice, and gave a general feast, sitting himself there, and all the Macedonians sitting round him; and then next to them Persians, and next any of the other tribes who had precedence in reputation or any other quality, and he himself and his comrades drank from the same bowl and poured the same libations, while the Greek seers and the Magians began the ceremony. And Alexander prayed for all sorts of blessings, and especially for harmony and fellowship in the empire between Macedonians and Persians. They say that those who shared the feast were nine thousand, and that they all poured the same libation and thereat sang the one song of victory.

XII. Then at their own wish such of the Macedonians as were unfit for service from old age or any accident departed from him; they numbered about ten thousand. To these Alexander gave the pay due not only for their expired time but also for the time spent in reaching home. Above the pay he gave also a gratuity to each of a talent. Then if there were children of Asian wives he bade them leave these behind, and not make trouble in Macedonia between foreigners and children of foreign wives and the children and mothers they had left behind them; he promised to care for them that they might be trained up in Macedonian ways, being especially disciplined in military training; then, when they were grown to manhood, he would take them back himself to Macedonia and hand them over to their fathers. All this he promised as they went away, rather vague and uncertain as it was; but as the

γέλλετο καὶ ὅπως ἔχει φιλίας τε καὶ πόθου ἐς αὐτοὺς τὸ ἀτρεκέστατον τεκμήριον ἐκεῖνο ποιεῖσθαι ἠξίου, ὅτι τὸν πιστότατόν τε αὐτῷ καὶ ὅντινα ἴσον τῇ ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλῇ ἄγει, Κρατερὸν ξυμπέμπει αὐτοῖς φύλακά τε καὶ ἡγούμενον τοῦ στόλου. Οὕτω δὴ ἀσπασάμενος ξύμπαντας αὐτός τε δακρύων καὶ δακρύοντας ἐκείνους ἀπὸ οὗ ἀπήλ-
4 λαξε. Κρατέρῳ δὲ τούτους τε ἄγειν ἐκέλευε καὶ ἀπαγαγόντι Μακεδονίας τε καὶ Θρᾴκης καὶ Θετταλῶν ἐξηγεῖσθαι καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῆς ἐλευθερίας·[1] Ἀντίπατρον δὲ διαδόχους τοῖς ἀποπεμπομένοις ἄγειν Μακεδόνας τῶν ἀκμαζόντων ἐκέλευσεν. Ἔστειλε δὲ καὶ Πολυσπέρχοντα ὁμοῦ τῷ Κρατέρῳ, δεύτερον δὲ ἀπὸ Κρατέρου ἡγεμόνα, ὡς εἴ τι κατὰ τὴν πορείαν Κρατέρῳ ξυμπίπτοι, ὅτι καὶ μαλακῶς τὸ σῶμα ἔχοντα ἀπέπεμπεν αὐτόν, μὴ ποθῆσαι στρατηγὸν τοὺς ἰόντας.

5 Λόγος δέ τις καὶ οὗτος ἐφοίτα ἀφανὴς παρὰ τοῖς τὰ βασιλικὰ πράγματα, ὅσῳ ἐπικρύπτεται, τοσῷδε φιλοτιμότερον ἐξηγουμένοις, καὶ τὸ πιστὸν ἐς τὸ χεῖρον μᾶλλον, ᾗ τὸ εἰκός τε καὶ ἡ αὐτῶν μοχθηρία ἄγει, ἢ πρὸς τὸ ἀληθὲς ἐκτρέπουσιν, ἐξηττώμενον Ἀλέξανδρον ἤδη τῆς μητρὸς τῶν διαβολῶν τῶν ἐς Ἀντίπατρον, ἀπαλλάξαι ἐθέλειν ἐκ Μακεδονίας Ἀντίπατρον.
6 Καὶ τυχὸν οὐκ ἐς ἀτιμίαν τὴν Ἀντιπάτρου ἡ μετάπεμψις αὐτοῦ ἔφερεν, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς μή τι ἐκ τῆς διαφορᾶς αὐτοῖς γένοιτο ἄχαρι ἐς ἀλλήλους καὶ οὐδὲ αὐτῷ ἰάσιμον. Ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν ἐπαύοντο

[1] Krüger adds ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, but the zeugma, if harsh, is not impossible. A correspondent suggests to Roos ἐλευθερῶσαι.

most solid proof of his good-will and affection towards them he thought good to add this, that he sent with them as guardian and guide of their journey Craterus, his most loyal follower, whom he loved as dearly as his own life. So then having bidden them all farewell, with tears in his eyes, and they with tears in theirs, he dismissed them. But he bade Craterus conduct them, and when he had brought them safe home, to take charge of Macedonia, Thrace, and Thessaly, and the freedom of Greece. Then he ordered Antipater to bring drafts of Macedonians of full age to replace those that were being sent home. He despatched also Polysperchon with Craterus, who was the officer next in seniority to Craterus, so that in case of harm coming to Craterus on the way, since he sent him as an invalid, the travellers should not lack a leader.

But some dim rumour of this kind was going about among those who publish abroad the affairs of kings, all the more eagerly the more they are kept secret, and also wrest aside reliable statements to the worse interpretation, where mere probability and their own malice lead them, rather than to the truth; namely, that Alexander already coming under the spell of his mother's calumnies, which she heaped upon Antipater, was anxious to remove Antipater from Macedonia. But I suggest that this recall of Antipater was not meant to disgrace him, but that no mutual unpleasantness might arise out of their disagreement, which perhaps Alexander himself could not heal. Since they never ceased writing

Ἀλεξάνδρῳ γράφοντες ὁ μὲν τὴν αὐθάδειάν τε τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ ὀξύτητα καὶ πολυπραγμοσύνην, ἥκιστα δὴ τῇ Ἀλεξάνδρου μητρὶ εὐσχήμονα, ὥστε καὶ λόγος τις τοιόσδε ἐφέρετο Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐφ' οἷς ὑπὲρ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῷ ἐξηγγέλλετο, βαρὺ δὴ τὸ ἐνοίκιον τῶν δέκα μηνῶν
7 εἰσπράττεσθαι αὐτὸν τὴν μητέρα· ἡ δέ, ὑπέρογκον εἶναι τῇ τε ἀξιώσει καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ θεραπείᾳ Ἀντίπατρον οὐδὲ μεμνῆσθαι τοῦ καταστήσαντος ἔτι, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν γὰρ ἀξιοῦν τὰ πρῶτα φέρεσθαι ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις Μακεδόσι τε καὶ Ἕλλησι. Καὶ ταῦτα μᾶλλόν τι ἰσχύειν παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐφαίνετο, ὅσα ἐς τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου τὴν διαβολὴν φέροντα ἦν, οἷα δὴ καὶ φοβερώτερα ἐν βασιλείᾳ ὄντα. Οὐ μέντοι καταφανές γέ τι ἢ ἔργον ἢ λόγος ἐξηγγέλλετο Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐφ' ὅτου ἄν τις συνέθηκεν οὐχ ὡσαύτως εἶναι αὐτῷ πρὸς θυμοῦ Ἀντίπατρον.[1] * * * * Ἡφαιστίων.

XIII. Τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ ὑπείξαντα Ἡφαιστίωνα συναλλαγῆναι Εὐμένει, οὐχ ἑκόντα ἑκόντι. Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὁδῷ καὶ τὸ πεδίον λέγεται ἰδεῖν Ἀλέξανδρον τὸ ἀνειμένον ταῖς ἵπποις ταῖς βασιλικαῖς, αὐτό τε πεδίον Νυσαῖον καλούμενον καὶ αἱ ἵπποι ὅτι Νυσαῖαι κλῄζονται λέγει Ἡρόδοτος· εἶναι δὲ πάλαι μὲν ἐς πεντεκαίδεκα μυριάδας τῶν ἵππων· τότε δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον οὐ πολὺ πλείονας τῶν πέντε καταλαβεῖν· πρὸς λῃστῶν γὰρ διαρπαγῆναι τὰς πολλὰς αὐτῶν.

2 Ἐνταῦθα λέγουσιν ὅτι Ἀτροπάτης ὁ τῆς Μηδίας σατράπης γυναῖκας ἑκατὸν αὐτῷ ἔδωκε,

[1] The "great lacuna"; see Vol. I, Prefatory Note, p. vii.

letters to Alexander; Antipater about the headstrong nature of Olympias, and her sharp temper, and her interfering ways, very unfitting to the mother of Alexander, so that a chance remark of Alexander's was bandied about, in reference to the news of his mother's doings, that his mother was exacting a heavy price from him for her ten months' housing of him; while Olympias accused Antipater of being arrogant from his position and the respect to which it entitled him, and of forgetting him who had placed him there, but rather expecting to assume every kind of precedence among the other Macedonians and Greeks. And this aspect evidently gathered strength with Alexander, that is, whatever tended to Antipater's discredit, as being more dreaded to royalty. And yet no open deed or word was recorded of Alexander which might have led one to conclude that Antipater was not as high as ever in his regard.

XIII. Hephaestion, they say, influenced by these sayings became reconciled to Eumenes; Eumenes being willing, but himself not. It is on this journey that Alexander is said to have seen the plain in which the royal mares were pastured; the plain itself was called the Plain of Nysa and the horses were called Nysaean, as Herodotus tells us; and there were originally upwards of a hundred and fifty thousand mares, but Alexander found then not above fifty thousand; for most of them had been driven off by robbers.

There they say that Atropates the satrap of Media handed over to him a hundred women, saying that

ταύτας φάσκων εἶναι τῶν Ἀμαζόνων, καὶ ταύτας
σκευῇ ἀνδρῶν ἱππέων ἐσταλμένας, πλήν γε δὴ
ὅτι πελέκεις ἀντὶ δοράτων ἐφόρουν καὶ ἀντὶ
ἀσπίδων πέλτας· οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸν μαστὸν λέγουσιν
ὅτι μείονα εἶχον τὸν δεξιόν, ὃν δὴ καὶ ἔξω εἶχον
3 ἐν ταῖς μάχαις. Ταύτας μὲν δὴ ἀπαλλάξαι τῆς
στρατιᾶς Ἀλέξανδρον, μή τι νεωτερισθείη κατ'
αὐτὰς ἐς ὕβριν πρὸς τῶν Μακεδόνων ἢ βαρ-
βάρων· κελεῦσαι δὲ ἀπαγγεῖλαι πρὸς τὴν
βασίλισσαν σφῶν ὅτι αὐτὸς ἥξει πρὸς αὐτὴν
παιδοποιησόμενος. Ταῦτα δὲ οὔτε Ἀριστόβου-
λος οὔτε Πτολεμαῖος οὔτε τις ἄλλος ἀνέγραψεν
ὅστις ἱκανὸς ὑπὲρ τῶν τοιούτων τεκμηριῶσαι.
4 Οὐδὲ δοκεῖ μοι ἐν τῷ τότε σώζεσθαι τὸ γένος
τῶν Ἀμαζόνων, οὐδ' ἔτι πρὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου
Ξενοφῶν ἀνεμνήσθη αὐτῶν, Φασιανῶν τε μνησ-
θεὶς καὶ Κόλχων καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἀπὸ Τραπεζοῦντος
ὁρμώμενοι ἢ πρὶν ἐς Τραπεζοῦντα κατελθεῖν οἱ
Ἕλληνες ἐπῆλθον ἔθνη βαρβαρικά, ἵναπερ καὶ
ταῖς Ἀμαζόσιν ἂν ἐντετυχήκεσαν, εἴπερ οὖν ἔτι
5 ἦσαν Ἀμαζόνες. Μὴ γενέσθαι μὲν γὰρ παν-
τελῶς τὸ γένος τούτων τῶν γυναικῶν οὐ πιστὸν
δοκεῖ ἔμοιγε, πρὸς τοσούτων καὶ τοιούτων
ὑμνηθέν. Ὡς Ἡρακλέα τε ἐπ' αὐτὰς λόγος
κατέχει ὅτι ἐστάλη καὶ ζωστῆρά τινα Ἱππο-
λύτης τῆς βασιλίσσης αὐτῶν ὅτι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα
ἐκόμισε, καὶ οἱ ξὺν Θησεῖ Ἀθηναῖοι ὅτι ἐπιούσας
τὰς γυναῖκας ταύτας τὴν Εὐρώπην πρῶτοι μάχῃ
νικήσαντες ἀνέστειλαν· καὶ γέγραπται ἡ Ἀθη-
ναίων καὶ Ἀμαζόνων μάχη πρὸς Κίμωνος[1] οὐ
6 μεῖον ἤπερ ἡ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Περσῶν. Καὶ

[1] Μίκωνος Kuhn, but the error may be Arrian's.

they were of the Amazons; they were equipped like cavalry troopers, except that they carried axes instead of spears, and small targets instead of shields. Some say that they had the right breast smaller, and that this was uncovered in battle. Alexander sent them away from the army, lest they should meet any roughness from the Macedonians or foreign troops; but he bade them announce to their queen that he was coming to see her in hope of offspring. This, however, neither Aristobulus nor Ptolemaeus nor any other reliable author on such matters has recorded. I do not myself think that the race of Amazons survived so long; indeed, before Alexander's time Xenophon made no reference to them, though he referred to Phasians and Colchians and other foreign races which the Greeks met either when starting from Trebizond or before they reached Trebizond, where they certainly would have met Amazons if there had still been any. And yet I do not think it credible that this race of women, so often mentioned by good authorities, never existed at all; since Heracles is reputed to have been sent to them, and to have brought back to Greece the girdle of Hippolyte their queen; it is said also that the Athenians with Theseus first defeated in battle and repelled these women when invading Europe; and Cimon painted the battle of the Athenians and Amazons just as he did the battle of the Greeks and

Ἡροδότῳ πολλάκις περὶ τῶν γυναικῶν τούτων πεποίηται, καὶ ὅσοι Ἀθηναίων τοὺς ἐν πολέμῳ τελευτήσαντας λόγῳ ἐκόσμησαν, καὶ τοῦ πρὸς Ἀμαζόνας ἔργου Ἀθηναίων ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα μνήμην ἐποιήσαντο. Εἰ δὲ ἱππικάς δή τινας γυναῖκας Ἀτροπάτης ἔδειξεν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, βαρβάρους τινὰς ἄλλας γυναῖκας ἱππεύειν ἠσκημένας δοκῶ ὅτι ἔδειξεν ἐς τὸν λεγόμενον δὴ τῶν Ἀμαζόνων κόσμον ἐσταλμένας.

XIV. Ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις δὲ θυσίαν τε ἔθυσεν Ἀλέξανδρος, ὥσπερ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ ξυμφοραῖς ἀγαθαῖς νόμος, καὶ ἀγῶνα ἐπετέλει γυμνικόν τε καὶ μουσικόν, καὶ πότοι αὐτῷ ἐγίγνοντο παρὰ τοῖς ἑταίροις. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Ἡφαιστίων ἔκαμε τὸ σῶμα· ἑβδόμη τε ἡμέρα ἤδη ἦν αὐτῷ τῆς νόσου καὶ λέγουσι τὸ μὲν στάδιον πλῆρες εἶναι· παίδων γὰρ ἀγὼν ἦν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ γυμνικός· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξηγγέλλετο Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὅτι κακῶς ἔχει Ἡφαιστίων, ὁ δὲ παρ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐλθὼν σπουδῇ οὐκέτι ζῶντα κατέλαβεν.

2 Ἔνθα δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι ἄλλα ἀνέγραψαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πένθους τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου· μέγα μὲν γενέσθαι αὐτῷ τὸ πένθος, πάντες τοῦτο ἀνέγραψαν, τὰ δὲ πραχθέντα ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ ἄλλοι ἄλλα, ὡς ἕκαστος ἢ εὐνοίας πρὸς Ἡφαιστίωνα ἢ φθόνου εἶχεν ἢ
3 καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. Ὧν οἱ τὰ ἀτάσθαλα ἀναγράψαντες οἱ μὲν ἐς κόσμον φέρειν μοι δοκοῦσιν οἰηθῆναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὅσα ὑπεραλγήσας ἔδρασεν ἢ εἶπεν ἐπὶ τῷ πάντων δὴ ἀνθρώπων φιλτάτῳ· οἱ δὲ ἐς αἰσχύνην μᾶλλόν τι ὡς οὐ πρέποντα οὔτ᾽ οὖν βασιλεῖ οὔτε Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, οἱ μέν, τὸ πολὺ μέρος τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ἐρριμμένον

Persians. Then Herodotus has often mentioned these women, and all the Athenians who pronounce eulogies on those who fell in war, and made especial mention of the Athenian action against the Amazons. And if Atropates showed to Alexander any feminine cavalry, I think they were some other foreign women taught to ride whom he exhibited got up in the traditional Amazon fashion.

XIV. At Ecbatana Alexander offered a sacrifice, as he usually did after some successful event, and held also an athletic and literary contest and held drinking bouts with the Companions. During this time Hephaestion fell ill, and his illness had now run seven days; and they say that the race-course was filled with people; for there were athletic sports that day for boys; but when Alexander heard that Hephaestion was seriously ill, he left the course and hurried to him, but found him no longer living.

At this point historians have given varied accounts of Alexander's grief. That his mourning was great, all have related; as to his actions, historians differ, according to the good-will or the ill-will felt towards Hephaestion or indeed towards Alexander himself. Of these, those who have recounted scandals appear to me partly to have thought that all redounds to Alexander's credit that he did or said in his excess of grief for one who was of all men most dear to him; or else, that all was to his discredit, as not really fitting either for any king or for Alexander himself. Some say that for the greater part of that day he lay

ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ ἑταίρου ὀδύρεσθαι οὐδ' ἐθέλειν ἀπαλλαγῆναι, πρίν γε δὴ πρὸς βίαν
4 ἀπηνέχθη πρὸς τῶν ἑταίρων· οἱ δέ, τήν τε ἡμέραν ὅλην καὶ τὴν νύκτα ὅλην ἐρρῖφθαι ἐπὶ τῷ σώματι· οἱ δὲ καί, τὸν ἰατρὸν Γλαυκίαν ὅτι ἐκρέμασε, καὶ τοῦτον ὡς ἐπὶ φαρμάκῳ κακῶς δοθέντι, οἱ δέ, ὅτι οἴνου περιεῖδεν ἐμπλησθέντα θεωρῶν αὐτός· καὶ κείρασθαι Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπὶ τῷ νεκρῷ τὴν κόμην, τά τε ἄλλα οὐκ ἀπεικότα τίθεμαι καὶ κατὰ ζῆλον τὸν Ἀχιλλέως, πρὸς
5 ὅντινα ἐκ παιδὸς φιλοτιμία ἦν αὐτῷ. οἱ δὲ καί, τὸ ἅρμα ἐφ' ὅτῳ τὸ σῶμα ἐφέρετο αὐτὸς ἔστιν ὅτε ἡνιόχει, τοῦτο οὐδαμῇ πιστὸν ἔμοιγε λέγοντες· ἄλλοι δέ, ὅτι καὶ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ ἕδος ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις κατασκάψαι ἐκέλευσε, βαρβαρικὸν τοῦτό γε, καὶ οὐδαμῇ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πρόσφορον, ἀλλὰ τῇ Ξέρξου μᾶλλόν τι ἀτασθαλίᾳ τῇ ἐς τὸ θεῖον καὶ ταῖς πέδαις ἃς λέγουσιν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον καθεῖναι Ξέρξην, τιμωρούμενον δῆθεν
6 τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκεῖνο οὐ πάντῃ ἔξω τοῦ εἰκότος ἀναγεγράφθαι μοι δοκεῖ, ὡς ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος ᾔει Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐντυχεῖν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν πολλὰς πρεσβείας ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, εἶναι δὲ δὴ ἐν τούτοις καὶ Ἐπιδαυρίων πρέσβεις· καὶ τούτους ὧν τε ἐδέοντο ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου τυχεῖν καὶ ἀνάθημα δοῦναι αὐτοῖς Ἀλέξανδρον κομίζειν τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ, ἐπειπόντα ὅτι Καίπερ οὐκ ἐπιεικῶς κέχρηταί μοι ὁ Ἀσκληπιός, οὐ σώσας μοι τὸν ἑταῖρον ὅντινα ἴσον τῇ ἐμαυτοῦ κεφαλῇ
7 ἦγον. Ἐναγίζειν τε ὅτι ἀεὶ ὡς ἥρωϊ ἐκέλευεν Ἡφαιστίωνι, τοῦτο μὲν πρὸς τῶν πλείστων ἀναγέγραπται· οἱ δὲ λέγουσιν ὅτι καὶ εἰς Ἄμ-

upon his friend's body and wept and would not be parted, till he was forced away by his Companions; others, that all the day and all the night he lay on the body; others again that he hanged Glaucias the doctor, and that for a dose wrongly administered; others again, because Glaucias had seen Hephaestion drinking most immoderately and had not stopped him; but that Alexander cut his hair from regard for the dead man, I think likely both for other reasons and especially because of his desire to emulate Achilles, with whom he had a rivalry from boyhood. Some add also that Alexander himself for a time drove the car in which the body was borne, and this statement I regard as quite incredible; yet others tell us that he bade the temple of Asclepius at Ecbatana be razed to the ground—a barbaric order, and not in Alexander's way at all; but rather suitable to Xerxes' insolence towards things divine and harmonizing with those fetters which they say Xerxes let down into the Hellespont, with the notion of punishing the Hellespont. But this also I think has been recorded not wholly outside the bounds of likelihood, that when Alexander was going to Babylon there met him in the way several envoys from Greece, and that among these were several Epidaurian envoys; these received from Alexander what they sued for, and Alexander gave them an offering to take back to Asclepius, with the words: "Yet Asclepius has not been kind to me, for he did not save for me the comrade whom I valued more than my life." Then most authorities have recorded that he ordered sacrifice always to be offered to Hephaestion as a hero; others add that he sent to Ammon to enquire

μωνος ἔπεμψεν ἐρησομένους τὸν θεὸν εἰ καὶ ὡς θεῷ θύειν συγχωρεῖ Ἡφαιστίωνι· τὸν δὲ οὐ ξυγχωρῆσαι.

8 Ἐκεῖνα δὲ πρὸς πάντων ξυμφωνούμενα, ἐς τρίτην ἀπὸ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ Ἡφαιστίωνος ἡμέραν μήτε σίτου γεύσασθαι Ἀλέξανδρον μήτε τινὰ θεραπείαν ἄλλην θεραπεῦσαι τὸ σῶμα, ἀλλὰ κεῖσθαι γὰρ ἢ ὀδυρόμενον ἢ πενθικῶς σιγῶντα· καὶ πυρὰν κελεῦσαι αὐτῷ ἑτοιμάζεσθαι ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἀπὸ ταλάντων μυρίων, οἱ δὲ καὶ πλειόνων ἀνέγραψαν·
9 καὶ ὅτι πένθος ποιεῖσθαι περιηγγέλη[1] κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν τὴν βάρβαρον· καὶ ὅτι πολλοὶ τῶν ἑταίρων τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐς θεραπείαν τὴν ἐκείνου σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ ὅπλα Ἡφαιστίωνι ἀνέθεσαν ἀποθανόντι· πρῶτον δὲ Εὐμένη ἄρξαι τοῦ σοφίσματος, ὅντινα ὀλίγῳ πρόσθεν ἔφαμεν ὅτι διηνέχθη πρὸς Ἡφαιστίωνα· καὶ τοῦτο δὲ δρᾶσαι, τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὡς μὴ ἐφήδεσθαι δοκοίη
10 τελευτήσαντι Ἡφαιστίωνι. Οὔκουν οὐδὲ ἄλλον τινὰ ἔταξεν ἀντὶ Ἡφαιστίωνος χιλίαρχον ἐπὶ τῇ ἵππῳ τῇ ἑταιρικῇ Ἀλέξανδρος, ὡς μὴ ἀπόλοιτο τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Ἡφαιστίωνος ἐκ τῆς τάξεως· ἀλλὰ Ἡφαιστίωνός τε ἡ χιλιαρχία ἐκαλεῖτο καὶ τὸ σημεῖον αὐτῆς ἡγεῖτο[2] ἐξ Ἡφαιστίωνος πεποιημένον. Ἀγῶνά τε ἐπενόει ποιῆσαι γυμνικόν τε καὶ μουσικὸν πλήθει τε τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων καὶ τῇ εἰς αὐτὸν χορηγίᾳ πολύ τι τῶν ἄλλων τῶν πρόσθεν ἀριδηλότερον· τρισχιλίους γὰρ ἀγωνιστὰς τοὺς ξύμπαντας παρεσκεύασε. Καὶ οὗτοι ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου τῷ τάφῳ λέγουσιν ὅτι ἠγωνίσαντο.

[1] *Roos* περιηγγέλθη.
[2] τὸ added by Sintenis.

of the god if he permitted sacrifice to be made to Hephaestion as a god; but he refused.

The following, however, harmonizes in all accounts, that for three days after Hephaestion's death Alexander neither tasted food nor took any care of his health, but lay either moaning or in a sorrowful silence; and that he ordered a pyre to be made ready for him in Babylon at a cost of ten thousand talents; some say even more; and that he commanded mourning to be made over all the East; and that many of Alexander's Companions in respect for him dedicated themselves and their arms to the departed Hephaestion; and that Eumenes was the first to initiate this idea, of whom a little above [1] we said he had quarrelled with Hephaestion; and that he did this so that Alexander might not think him pleased at Hephaestion's death. At any rate Alexander never appointed anyone in place of Hephaestion as general of the Companions' cavalry, so that the name Hephaestion might never perish from his brigade; but it was still called Hephaestion's brigade, and the image went before it which had been modelled on Hephaestion. Then Alexander proposed an athletic and literary contest with a great number of competitors, and far more splendid than any before in regard to the money lavished upon it; for he provided three thousand competitors in all; and these not long afterwards competed at Alexander's own funeral.

[1] In the lost part of Chapter XII.

XV. Χρόνος τε ἦν συχνὸς τῷ πένθει καὶ αὐτός τε αὐτὸν ἤδη μετεκάλει ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἑταῖροι μᾶλλόν τι ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε ἤνυτον. Ἔνθα δὴ ἐξέλασιν ποιεῖται ἐπὶ Κοσσαίους, ἔθνος πολε-
2 μικόν, ὅμορον τῷ Οὐξίων. Εἰσὶ δὲ ὄρειοι οἱ Κοσσαῖοι καὶ χωρία ὀχυρὰ κατὰ κώμας νέμονται, καὶ ὁπότε προσάγοι δύναμις ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τῶν ὀρῶν, ἀποχωροῦντες ἀθρόοι ἢ ὅπως ἂν προχωρῇ ἑκάστοις οὕτω διαφεύγουσιν, ἐς ἀπορίαν βάλλοντες τοὺς ξὺν δυνάμει σφίσιν ἐπιχειροῦντας· ἀπελθόντων δὲ αὖθις εἰς τὸ λῃστεύειν τρεπό-
3 μενοι ἀπὸ τούτου τὸν βίον ποιοῦνται. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐξεῖλεν αὐτῶν τὸ ἔθνος, καίπερ χειμῶνος στρατεύσας. Ἀλλ' οὔτε χειμὼν ἐγένετο ἐμποδὼν αὐτῷ οὔτε αἱ δυσχωρίαι, οὔτε αὐτῷ οὔτε Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Λάγου, ὃς μέρος τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἦγεν. Οὕτως οὐδὲν ἄπορον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῶν πολεμικῶν ἦν ἐς ὅ τι ὁρμήσειε.

4 Κατιόντι δὲ αὐτῷ εἰς Βαβυλῶνα Λιβύων τε πρεσβεῖαι ἐνετύγχανον ἐπαινούντων τε καὶ στεφανούντων ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῆς Ἀσίας, καὶ ἐξ Ἰταλίας Βρέττιοί τε καὶ Λευκανοὶ καὶ Τυρρηνοὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπρέσβευον. Καὶ Καρχηδονίους τότε πρεσβεῦσαι λέγεται καὶ ἀπὸ Αἰθιόπων πρέσβεις ἐλθεῖν καὶ Σκυθῶν τῶν ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης, καὶ Κελτοὺς καὶ Ἴβηρας, ὑπὲρ φιλίας δεησομένους· ὧν τά τε ὀνόματα καὶ τὰς σκευὰς τότε πρῶτον ὀφθῆναι πρὸς Ἑλλήνων τε
5 καὶ Μακεδόνων. Τοὺς δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν εἰς ἀλλήλους διαφορῶν λέγουσιν ὅτι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ διακρῖναι ἐπέτρεπον· καὶ τότε μάλιστα αὐτόν τε αὑτῷ Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν φανῆναι

XV. Now the mourning had gone on some time, and Alexander was already recovering from it, and the Companions were able to assist him more. He now, therefore, made an expedition to the Cossaeans, a warlike race bordering on the Uxians. These Cossaeans are mountaineers, and dwell in village strongholds; and whenever a force drew near their mountain fastnesses, they would move off in mass or as convenient to each section, and so slip away; making it very hard for those who tried to attack them with forces to get to close quarters. Then when the enemy was gone they turned again to their brigandage and found in it their livelihood. Alexander, however, destroyed their tribe, even though he made his raid on them by winter. But winter and rough places never hindered him, nor yet Ptolemaeus son of Lagus, who led a portion of the army against them. In fact Alexander found nothing impossible of the warlike enterprises he undertook.

But as he was returning to Babylon embassies from the Libyans met him, congratulating him and offering him a crown on his becoming King of Asia; from Italy also Bruttians and Lucanians and Tyrrhenians sent envoys for a like purpose. It is said that the Carthaginians also sent envoys, and that others came from Ethiopia and the European Scyths; Celts also and Iberians, to ask for friendly terms; then indeed for the first time did Greeks and Macedonians become acquainted with their names and appearances. Some, they say, even appealed to Alexander to arbitrate in their differences with each other; and then especially both in his own estimation and in that of his followers Alexander

γῆς τε ἁπάσης καὶ θαλάσσης κύριον. Ἄριστος δὲ καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδης τῶν τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀναγραψάντων καὶ Ῥωμαίους λέγουσιν ὅτι ἐπρέσβευσαν· καὶ ἐντυχόντα ταῖς πρεσβείαις Ἀλέξανδρον ὑπὲρ Ῥωμαίων τι τῆς ἐσομένης ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα δυνάμεως μαντεύσασθαι, τόν τε κόσμον τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἰδόντα καὶ τὸ φιλόπονόν τε καὶ ἐλευθέριον καὶ περὶ τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἅμα διαπυνθανόμενον.
6 Καὶ τοῦτο οὔτε ὡς ἀτρεκὲς οὔτε ὡς ἄπιστον πάντη ἀνέγραψα· πλήν γε δὴ οὔτε τις Ῥωμαίων ὑπὲρ τῆς πρεσβείας ταύτης ὡς παρὰ Ἀλέξανδρον σταλείσης μνήμην ἐποιήσατό τινα, οὐδὲ τῶν τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου γραψάντων οἷστισι μᾶλλον ἐγὼ ξυμφέρομαι, Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λαγου καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος· οὐδὲ τῷ Ῥωμαίων πολιτεύματι ἐπεοικὸς ἦν, ἐλευθέρῳ δὴ τότε ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ὄντι, παρὰ βασιλέα ἀλλόφυλον, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐς τοσόνδε ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας πρεσβεῦσαι, οὔτε φόβου ἐξαναγκάζοντος οὔτε κατ' ἐλπίδα ὠφελείας, μίσει τε, εἴπερ τινὰς ἄλλους, τοῦ τυραννικοῦ γένους τε καὶ ὀνόματος κατεχομένους.

XVI. Ἐκ τούτου δὴ Ἡρακλείδην τὸν Ἀργαίου ἐκπέμπει ἐς Ὑρκανίαν ναυπηγοὺς ἅμα οἷ ἄγοντα, κελεύσας ὕλην τεμόντα ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν τῶν Ὑρκανίων ναυπηγεῖσθαι ναῦς μακρὰς ἀφράκτους τε καὶ πεφραγμένας ἐς τὸν κόσμον τὸν Ἑλληνικόν.
2 Πόθος γὰρ εἶχεν αὐτὸν καὶ ταύτην ἐκμαθεῖν τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν Κασπίαν τε καὶ Ὑρκανίαν καλουμένην ποίᾳ τινὶ ξυμβάλλει θαλάσσῃ, πότερα τῇ τοῦ πόντου τοῦ Εὐξείνου ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς ἑώας τῆς κατ' Ἰνδοὺς ἐκπεριερχομένη ἡ μεγάλη θάλασσα ἀναχεῖται εἰς κόλπον τὸν Ὑρκάνιον, καθάπερ οὖν καὶ

appeared to be lord of all the earth and sea. Aristus indeed and Asclepiades from among the historians of Alexander assert that even Romans sent envoys; and that Alexander when he met their envoys prognosticated something of their future power when he noticed their orderliness and diligence and freedom, and when he also had learnt something of their constitution. This I have recorded neither as true nor as untrue; except that no Roman ever made mention of this embassy sent to Alexander, nor even the historians of Alexander whom I most follow, Ptolemaeus son of Lagus and Aristobulus; nor was it suitable for the Roman republic, which was then entirely free, to send to a foreign king, especially so far from their own home, when no scare compelled them, nor with any expectation of help, and being as they were a people particularly given to dislike of kings and of the very name of kings.

XVI. After this Alexander sent Heracleides the son of Argaeus to Hyrcania with shipwrights, bidding him cut wood from the Hyrcanian forests and build warships, some decked, some open, in the Greek fashion. For he had conceived a desire to explore this Caspian Sea (also called Hyrcanian) as well, to see with what other sea it unites; whether with the Euxine Sea, or whether on the east side, towards India, the great sea circling round pours into the Hyrcanian Gulf,

τὸν Περσικὸν ἐξεῦρε, τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν δὴ καλου-
μένην θάλασσαν, κόλπον οὖσαν τῆς μεγάλης
3 θαλάσσης. Οὐ γάρ πω ἐξεύρηντο αἱ ἀρχαὶ τῆς
Κασπίας θαλάσσης, καίτοι ἐθνῶν τε αὐτὴν
περιοικούντων οὐκ ὀλίγων καὶ ποταμῶν πλοΐμων
ἐμβαλλόντων ἐς αὐτήν· ἐκ Βάκτρων μὲν Ὦξος
ποταμός, μέγιστος τῶν Ἀσιανῶν ποταμῶν, πλήν
γε δὴ τῶν Ἰνδῶν, ἐξίησιν ἐς ταύτην τὴν θάλασ-
σαν, διὰ Σκυθῶν δὲ Ἰαξάρτης· καὶ τὸν Ἀράξην
δὲ τὸν ἐξ Ἀρμενίας ῥέοντα ἐς ταύτην ἐσβάλλειν ὁ
4 πλείων λόγος κατέχει. Μέγιστοι μὲν οὗτοι· πολλοὶ
δὲ δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι ἔς τε τούτους ἐμβάλλοντες καὶ
αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ σφῶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ταύτην ἐξιᾶσιν,
οἱ μὲν καὶ γινωσκόμενοι πρὸς τῶν ἀμφ᾽ Ἀλέξαν-
δρον ἐπελθόντων τὰ ἔθνη ταῦτα, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὰ
ἐπ᾽ ἐκεῖνα τοῦ κόλπου, ὡς εἰκός, κατὰ τοὺς
Σκύθας τοὺς Νομάδας, ὃ δὴ ἄγνωστον πάντῃ ἐστίν.
5 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὡς τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμὸν ξὺν τῇ
στρατιᾷ διέβη ἐλαύνων ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος, ἐνταῦθα
ἐντυγχάνουσιν αὐτῷ Χαλδαίων οἱ λόγιοι, καὶ
ἀπαγαγόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἑταίρων ἐδέοντο ἐπισχεῖν
τὴν ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος ἔλασιν· λόγιον γὰρ γεγονέναι
σφισὶν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ Βήλου μὴ πρὸς ἀγαθοῦ
οἱ εἶναι τὴν πάροδον τὴν ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἐν τῷ
6 τότε. Τὸν δὲ ἀποκρίνασθαι αὐτοῖς λόγον[1] τοῦ
Εὐριπίδου τοῦ ποιητοῦ ἔπος, ἔχει δὲ τὸ ἔπος
Εὐριπίδῃ ὧδε·

Μάντις δ᾽ ἄριστος ὅστις εἰκάζει καλῶς.

Σὺ δέ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἔφασαν οἱ Χαλδαῖοι, μὴ πρὸς
δυσμὰς ἀφορῶν αὐτὸς μηδὲ τὴν στρατιὰν ταύτῃ

[1] λόγοι Krüger.

just as he discovered the Persian Gulf, called by some the Red Sea, to be only a gulf of the ocean. For no one had yet discovered the springs of the Caspian Sea, though many tribes dwell round it and navigable rivers flow into it; from Bactria, for instance, the river Oxus, the greatest of the Asian rivers, save the Indian, finds its way into this sea; and also the Jaxartes flowing through Scythia. Then the usual account is that the Araxes flowing from Armenia runs into this sea. These are the greatest; but a good many others pouring into these themselves pass into this sea; some known by Alexander's expedition into those parts, and others on the far side of the gulf, as would be, and among the Nomad Scythians, a part entirely unknown.

Crossing the Tigris with his army, Alexander marched towards Babylon, and there met him Chaldaean seers, who drew him aside from the Companions and begged him to stop the advance towards Babylon; for, they said, they had an oracle from their god Belus that his approach to Babylon at that time would mean disaster. He, however, answered them with a verse of Euripides the dramatist—it runs thus:

"Prophets, who prophesy the best, are best."[1]

"But, O King," said the Chaldaeans, "look not towards the west, nor lead your army westward, but

[1] Dindorf, Fr. 963. See Cicero, *de Divin.* II. 5, Plut. *Mor.* p. 432c.

ἐπέχουσαν ἄγων παρελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἐκπεριελθὼν
7 πρὸς ἕω μᾶλλον. Τῷ δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦτο εὐμαρὲς διὰ
δυσχωρίαν ξυνέβη· ἀλλὰ ἦγε γὰρ αὐτὸν ταύτῃ
τὸ δαιμόνιον ᾗ παρελθόντα ἐχρῆν ἤδη τελευτῆσαι.
Καί που τυχὸν καὶ ἄμεινον αὐτῷ ἦν ἐν ἀκμῇ τῆς
τε ἄλλης δόξης καὶ τοῦ πόθου τοῦ παρ' ἀνθρώπων
ἀπηλλάχθαι, πρίν τινα ξυμβῆναι αὐτῷ ξυμφορὰν
ἀνθρωπίνην, ἧς ἕνεκα καὶ Σόλωνα Κροίσῳ
παραινέσαι εἰκὸς τέλος ὁρᾶν μακροῦ βίου μηδὲ
πρόσθεν τινὰ ἀνθρώπων ἀποφαίνειν εὐδαίμονα.
8 Ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἡ Ἡφαιστίωνος
τελευτὴ οὐ σμικρὰ ξυμφορὰ γεγένητο, ἧς καὶ αὐτὸς
Ἀλέξανδρος προαπελθεῖν ἂν δοκεῖ μοι ἐθελῆσαι
μᾶλλον ἢ ζῶν πειραθῆναι, οὐ μεῖον ἢ καὶ Ἀχιλλέα
δοκῶ ἂν ἑλέσθαι προαποθανεῖν Πατρόκλου
μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ τιμωρὸν γενέσθαι.

XVII. Ἦν δέ τι καὶ ὕποπτον αὐτῷ ἐς τοὺς
Χαλδαίους, ὡς οὐ κατὰ μαντείαν τι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς
ὠφέλειαν τὴν αὐτῶν φέροι αὐτοῖς ἡ κώλυσις τῆς
Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἐν τῷ τότε ἐλάσεως.
Ὁ γὰρ τοῦ Βήλου νεὼς ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει ἦν τῶν
Βαβυλωνίων, μεγέθει τε μέγιστος καὶ ἐκ πλίνθου
2 ὀπτῆς ἐν ἀσφάλτῳ ἡρμοσμένης. Τοῦτον τὸν
νεών, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἱερὰ τὰ Βαβυλωνίων,
Ξέρξης κατέσκαψεν, ὅτε ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὀπίσω
ἀπενόστησεν· Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐν νῷ εἶχεν ἀνοικο-
δομεῖν, οἱ μὲν λέγουσιν ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῖς θεμελίοις
τοῖς πρόσθεν, καὶ τούτου ἕνεκα τὸν χοῦν ἐκφέρειν
ἐκέλευε τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους· οἱ δέ, ὅτι καὶ μείζονα
3 ἔτι τοῦ πάλαι ὄντος. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποστάντος αὐτοῦ
μαλθακῶς ἀνθήψαντο τοῦ ἔργου οἷς ταῦτα
ἐπετέτραπτο, ὁ δὲ τῇ στρατιᾷ πάσῃ ἐπενόει τὸ

rather wheel your force and lead it eastward." But this, by reason of the difficulty of the road, he could not do; but fate led him the way on which he was doomed to die. And possibly it was better for him to die in the height of his fame and of the general regard of mankind before any ordinary disaster befell him; it was for a reason like this probably that Solon advised Croesus to regard the end of a long life, and not declare any man happy before that. For the death of Hephaestion had proved no small disaster to Alexander himself, which Alexander himself I believe would have preferred to anticipate rather than to experience it during his lifetime; just as I think Achilles would have preferred to die before Patroclus rather than to have been the avenger of his death.

XVII. Some suspicion was entertained by Alexander towards these Chaldaeans that it was not so much in the way of prophecy as for their private advantage that the prevention of his advance to Babylon at that time would tend, for the temple of Belus was in the midst of the city of Babylon, in size immense, and made of baked brick with bitumen for mortar. This temple, like the other shrines of Babylon, Xerxes razed to the ground, when he returned back from Greece; but Alexander was minded to build it up again, some say on the original foundations, and that for this reason he bade the Babylonians remove the heaps of earth; others say that he wished to build it larger than the old one. But since after his departure those charged with the work had taken it up languidly, he proposed to

ἔργον ἐργάσασθαι. Εἶναι δὲ τῷ θεῷ τῷ Βήλῳ πολλὴν μὲν τὴν χώραν ἀνειμένην ἐκ τῶν
4 Ἀσσυρίων βασιλέων, πολὺν δὲ χρυσόν. Καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ[1] πάλαι μὲν τὸν νεὼν ἐπισκευάζεσθαι καὶ τὰς θυσίας τῷ θεῷ θύεσθαι· τότε δὲ τοὺς Χαλδαίους τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ νέμεσθαι, οὐκ ὄντος ἐς ὅ τι ἀναλωθήσεται τὰ περιγιγνόμενα. Τούτων δὴ εἵνεκα ὕποπτοι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἦσαν οὐκ ἐθέλειν παρελθεῖν εἴσω Βαβυλῶνος Ἀλέξανδρον, ὡς μὴ δι' ὀλίγου τὸν νεὼν ἐπιτελεσθέντα ἀφελέσθαι
5 αὐτοὺς τὰς ἐκ τῶν χρημάτων ὠφελείας. Ὅμως δὲ τά γε τῆς ἐπιστροφῆς τῆς κατὰ τὴν εἴσοδον τὴν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐθελῆσαι αὐτοῖς πεισθῆναι λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος, καὶ τῇ πρώτῃ μὲν παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Εὐφράτην καταστρατοπεδεῦσαι, ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντα τὸν ποταμὸν παρ' αὐτὸν πορεύεσθαι, ἐθέλοντα ὑπερβάλλειν τῆς πόλεως τὸ μέρος τὸ ἐς δυσμὰς τετραμμένον,
6 ὡς ταύτῃ ἐπιστρέψαντα πρὸς ἕω ἄγειν· ἀλλὰ οὐ γὰρ δυνηθῆναι ὑπὸ δυσχωρίας οὕτως ἐλάσαι ξὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ, ὅτι τὰ ἀπὸ δυσμῶν τῆς πόλεως εἰσιόντι, εἰ ταύτῃ πρὸς ἕω ἐπέστρεφεν, ἑλώδη τε καὶ τεναγώδη ἦν. Καὶ οὕτω καὶ ἑκόντα καὶ ἄκοντα ἀπειθῆσαι τῷ θεῷ.

XVIII. Ἐπεὶ καὶ τοιόνδε τινὰ λόγον Ἀριστόβουλος ἀναγέγραφεν· Ἀπολλόδωρον τὸν Ἀμφιπολίτην τῶν ἑταίρων τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου, στρατηγὸν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἣν παρὰ Μαζαίῳ τῷ Βαβυλῶνος σατράπῃ ἀπέλιπεν Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐπειδὴ συνέμιξεν ἐπανιόντι αὐτῷ ἐξ Ἰνδῶν, ὁρῶντα πικρῶς τιμωρούμενον τοὺς σατράπας ὅσοι ἐπ' ἄλλῃ καὶ ἄλλῃ

[1] ἀπὸ τούτου Sintenis.

complete the work with all his force. The god Bel had much glebe consecrated by the Assyrian kings, and much treasure too. From this the temple was originally repaired, and the sacrifices offered to the god. But at that time the Chaldaeans enjoyed the revenues of the god, there being no cause for expenditure of the surplus income. For all these reasons Alexander suspected that they did not desire him to enter Babylon, lest if the temple was completed in a short time they might lose the enjoyment of these moneys. Yet Aristobulus states that Alexander was quite ready to yield to them so far as to withdraw from entering the city, and that he camped the first day on the river Euphrates, but the next day marched along the river, keeping it on his right, anxious to pass by that part of the city which had a western aspect, so as to turn thence and march eastward; but he could not advance this way with his force because of the difficulty of the ground, since if he entered from the west, and at this point turned eastward, the ground was all marshy and full of pools. And thus he disobeyed the god partly of intention, and partly without.

XVIII. Moreover, Aristobulus records a story as follows. Apollodorus of Amphipolis, one of Alexander's Companions, commander of the force which Alexander left behind with Mazaeus the satrap of Babylon, meeting Alexander on his return from India, and perceiving that he was punishing severely the satraps appointed over different provinces, wrote

χώρᾳ τεταγμένοι ἦσαν, ἐπιστεῖλαι Πειθαγόρᾳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ. μάντιν γὰρ εἶναι τὸν Πειθαγόραν τῆς ἀπὸ σπλάγχνων μαντείας. μαντεύσασθαι καὶ
2 ὑπὲρ αὑτοῦ τῆς σωτηρίας. Ἀντεπιστεῖλαι δὲ αὐτῷ Πειθαγόραν πυνθανόμενον τίνα μάλιστα φοβούμενος χρήσασθαι ἐθέλοι τῇ μαντείᾳ. Τὸν δὲ γράψαι αὖθις ὅτι τόν τε βασιλέα αὐτὸν καὶ Ἡφαιστίωνα. Θύεσθαι δὴ τὸν Πειθαγόραν πρῶτα μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἡφαιστίωνι· ὡς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἥπατος τοῦ ἱερείου ὁ λοβὸς ἀφανὴς ἦν, οὕτω δὴ ἐγγράψαντα καὶ κατασημηνάμενον τὸ γραμμάτιον πέμψαι παρὰ τὸν Ἀπολλόδωρον ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος εἰς Ἐκβάτανα, δηλοῦντα μηδέν τι δεδιέναι Ἡφαιστίωνα· ἔσεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὀλίγου χρόνου
3 ἐκποδών. Καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος κομίσασθαι Ἀπολλόδωρον μιᾷ πρόσθεν ἡμέρᾳ ἢ τελευτῆσαι Ἡφαιστίωνα. Αὖθις δὲ θύεσθαι τὸν Πειθαγόραν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ γενέσθαι καὶ ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἄλοβον τὸ ἧπαρ τοῦ ἱερείου. Καὶ Πειθαγόραν τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάνδρου γράψαι Ἀπολλοδώρῳ. Ἀπολλόδωρον δὲ οὐ κατασιωπῆσαι, ἀλλὰ φράσαι γὰρ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα, ὡς εὔνοιαν μᾶλλόν τι ἐπιδειξόμενον τῷ βασιλεῖ, εἰ φυλάττεσθαι παραινέσειε μή τις αὐτῷ κίνδυνος ἐν τῷ
4 τότε ξυμπέσοι. Καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρόν τε λέγει ὅτι Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπῄνεσε καὶ τὸν Πειθαγόραν, ἐπειδὴ παρῆλθεν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα, ἤρετο ὅτου γενομένου αὐτῷ σημείου ταῦτα ἐπέστειλε πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφόν· τὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἄλοβόν οἱ τὸ ἧπαρ ἐγένετο τοῦ ἱερείου· ἐρομένου δὲ ὅ τι νοοῖ τὸ σημεῖον μέγα εἰπεῖν εἶναι χαλεπόν. Ἀλέξαν-

to Peithagoras his brother, one of those seers who prophesy from the flesh of victims, to prophesy also concerning his own welfare. Peithagoras then wrote in answer to him asking who it was that he chiefly feared, that he wanted the help of prophecy; and he replied that it was the King himself and Hephaestion. Peithagoras then sacrificed first in the matter of Hephaestion; and as the lobe could not be seen on the liver of the victim, he reported this, and sealing his letter sent it to Apollodorus from Babylon to Ecbatana, assuring him that he had nothing to fear from Hephaestion, for in a short time he would be removed from his path. This letter Aristobulus says that Apollodorus received on the day before Hephaestion died. Then Peithagoras sacrificed again in the matter of Alexander, and for Alexander also the liver of the victim showed no lobe. Peithagoras then sent a similar letter to Apollodorus about Alexander also. Then Apollodorus did not keep his counsel, but told Alexander the news he had received, with the idea of showing a kindness to the King, by advising him to beware lest any danger should at this time come upon him. He states further that Alexander thanked Apollodorus and, when he reached Babylon, asked Peithagoras what particular warning caused him to write thus to his brother. He replied that he found the liver of the victim without a lobe. Then when Alexander enquired what this sign portended, Peithagoras replied: "Something very serious." However, Alex-

δρον δὲ τοσούτου δεῆσαι χαλεπῆναι τῷ Πειθα-
γόρᾳ, ὡς καὶ δι' ἐπιμελείας ἔχειν αὐτὸν πλείονος,
5 ὅτι ἀδόλως τὴν ἀλήθειάν οἱ ἔφρασε. Ταῦτα
αὐτὸς Ἀριστόβουλος λέγει παρὰ Πειθαγόρου
πυθέσθαι· καὶ Περδίκκᾳ δὲ μαντεύσασθαι αὐτὸν
λέγει καὶ Ἀντιγόνῳ χρόνῳ ὕστερον· καὶ τοῦ
αὐτοῦ σημείου ἀμφοῖν γενομένου Περδίκκαν
τε ἐπὶ Πτολεμαῖον στρατεύσαντα ἀποθανεῖν
καὶ Ἀντίγονον ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῇ πρὸς Σέλευκον
6 καὶ Λυσίμαχον τῇ ἐν Ἰψῷ γενομένῃ. Καὶ
μὲν δὴ καὶ ὑπὲρ Καλάνου τοῦ σοφιστοῦ τοῦ
Ἰνδοῦ τοιόσδε τις ἀναγέγραπται λόγος, ὁπότε
ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὰν ᾔει ἀποθανούμενος, τότε τοὺς μὲν
ἄλλους ἑταίρους ἀσπάζεσθαι αὐτόν, Ἀλεξάνδρῳ
δὲ οὐκ ἐθελῆσαι προσελθεῖν ἀσπασόμενον, ἀλλὰ
φάναι γὰρ ὅτι ἐν Βαβυλῶνι αὐτῷ ἐντυχὼν
ἀσπάσεται. Καὶ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ἐν μὲν τῷ
τότε ἀμεληθῆναι· ὕστερον δέ, ἐπειδὴ ἐτελεύτησεν
ἐν Βαβυλῶνι Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐς μνήμην ἐλθεῖν τῶν
ἀκουσάντων, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ ἄρα τῇ Ἀλεξάν-
δρου ἐθειάσθη.

XIX. Παρελθόντι δ' αὐτῷ ἐς Βαβυλῶνα
πρεσβεῖαι παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐνέτυχον, ὑπὲρ
ὅτων μὲν ἕκαστοι πρεσβευόμενοι οὐκ ἀναγέ-
γραπται· δοκεῖν δ' ἔμοιγε αἱ πολλαὶ στεφανούντων
τε αὐτὸν ἦσαν καὶ ἐπαινούντων ἐπὶ ταῖς νίκαις
ταῖς τε ἄλλαις καὶ μάλιστα ταῖς Ἰνδικαῖς, καὶ ὅτι
σῶος ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἐπανήκει χαίρειν φασκόντων. Καὶ
τούτους δεξιωσάμενός τε καὶ τὰ εἰκότα τιμήσας
2 ἀποπέμψαι ὀπίσω λέγεται. Ὅσους δὲ ἀνδριάν-
τας ἢ ὅσα ἀγάλματα ἢ εἰ δή τι ἄλλο ἀνάθημα
ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Ξέρξης ἀνεκόμισεν ἐς Βαβυλῶνα

ander was far from being incensed against Peithagoras, but rather had a higher opinion of him for speaking the truth outright. This Aristobulus says he learned at first hand from Peithagoras; and adds that Peithagoras prophesied later in the matter of Perdiccas and Antigonus; the same portent appeared for both, and Perdiccas, having taken the field against Ptolemaeus, perished, and Antigonus in the battle against Seleucus and Lysimachus, which took place at Ipsus. And besides this, a story on these lines has been recorded of Calanus, the Indian wise man, that when he was going to the funeral pyre, to his death, he greeted all the Companions, but refused to approach Alexander to wish him farewell, but said that he would meet him at Babylon, and greet him there. This story was ignored at the time; but later, when Alexander died at Babylon, it came to the recollection of the hearers that he had, in reality, some divine inspiration about Alexander.

XIX. Then when Alexander had entered Babylon embassies came to meet him from the Greeks; but history does not record for what purposes each embassy came. I am inclined to think that most of them were to offer him wreaths and to congratulate him on all his victories, and especially those in India; and also to express their joy that he came back safe from India. These he received graciously, and is stated to have dismissed them after showing his regard for them in the customary way. But such statues or other works of art or any other votive offering which Xerxes removed from Greece to

ἢ ἐς Πασαργάδας ἢ ἐς Σοῦσα ἢ ὅπη ἄλλῃ τῆς Ἀσίας, ταῦτα δοῦναι ἄγειν τοῖς πρέσβεσι, καὶ τὰς Ἁρμοδίου καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος εἰκόνας τὰς χαλκᾶς οὕτω λέγεται ἀπενεχθῆναι ὀπίσω ἐς Ἀθήνας καὶ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Κελκαίας τὸ ἕδος.

3 Κατέλαβε δὲ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι, ὡς λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος, καὶ τὸ ναυτικόν, τὸ μὲν κατὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν ἀναπεπλευκὸς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης τῆς Περσικῆς, ὅ τιπερ σὺν Νεάρχῳ ἦν· τὸ δὲ ἐκ Φοινίκης ἀνακεκομισμένον, πεντήρεις μὲν δύο τῶν ἐκ Φοινίκων, τετρήρεις δὲ τρεῖς, τριήρεις δὲ δώδεκα, τριακοντόρους δὲ ἐς τριάκοντα· ταύτας ξυντμηθείσας κομισθῆναι ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν ἐκ Φοινίκης ἐς Θάψακον πόλιν, ἐκεῖ δὲ ξυμπηχθείσας αὖθις καταπλεῦσαι ἐς Βαβυλῶνα.
4 Λέγει δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἄλλος αὐτῷ ἐναυπηγεῖτο στόλος τέμνοντι τὰς κυπαρίσσους τὰς ἐν τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ· τούτων γὰρ μόνων τῶν δένδρων εὐπορίαν εἶναι ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὅσα ἐς ναυπηγίαν ἀπόρως ἔχειν τὴν γῆν ταύτην· πληρώματα δὲ ἐς τὰς ναῦς καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ὑπηρεσίας πορφυρέων τε πλῆθος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσοι ἐργάται τῆς θαλάσσης ἀφῖχθαι αὐτῷ ἐκ Φοινίκης τε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης παραλίας· λιμένα τε ὅτι πρὸς Βαβυλῶνι ἐποίει ὀρυκτὸν ὅσον χιλίαις ναυσὶ μακραῖς ὅρμον εἶναι καὶ νεωσοίκους ἐπὶ τοῦ
5 λιμένος. Καὶ Μίκκαλος ὁ Κλαζομένιος μετὰ πεντακοσίων ταλάντων ἐπὶ Φοινίκης τε καὶ Συρίας ἐστέλλετο, τοὺς μὲν μισθῷ πείσων, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ὠνησόμενος ὅσοι θαλάττιοι ἄνθρωποι. Τήν τε γὰρ παραλίαν τὴν πρὸς τῷ κόλπῳ τῷ

Babylon or to Pasargadae or to Susa or anywhere else in Asia, these he gave to the embassies to take back; and thus it is said that the bronze statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton were taken back to Athens, as also the seated figure of Celcaean[1] Artemis.

Aristobulus says that Alexander found in Babylon the flotilla also; part had sailed up the Euphrates from the Persian Sea, that part which was with Nearchus; but the rest had been brought up from Phoenicia, two Phoenician quinqueremes, three quadriremes, and twelve triremes; and about thirty thirty-oared galleys. These had been taken to pieces and carried across from Phoenicia to the Euphrates, to the city of Thapsacus; and there they were put together again and sailed down to Babylon. Aristobulus also says that another detachment was being built for him, by cutting down the cypresses in Babylonia; for this is the only tree which grows freely in the Assyrian country, which is bare of everything else necessary for shipbuilding. As crews for the ships and for the other naval services there came a number of purple-shell divers and other persons whose business lies in the sea, from Phoenicia and the rest of the coast. He also says that Alexander dug a harbour at Babylon, large enough to be a roadstead for a thousand ships of war, and dockyards on the harbour. Miccalus of Clazomenae was despatched to Phoenicia and Syria with five hundred talents, to induce by pay, or to purchase, men accustomed to seafaring. For Alexander had an idea of colonizing the coast along the Persian Gulf,

[1] The name is unknown.

Περσικῷ κατοικίζειν ἐπενόει καὶ τὰς νήσους τὰς ταύτῃ. Ἐδόκει γὰρ αὐτῷ οὐ μεῖον ἂν Φοινίκης
6 εὐδαίμων ἡ χώρα αὕτη γενέσθαι. Ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἡ παρασκευὴ ὡς ἐπὶ Ἄραβας τοὺς πολλούς,[1] πρόφασιν μέν, ὅτι μόνοι τῶν ταύτῃ βαρβάρων οὔτε πρεσβείαν ἀπέστειλαν οὔτε τι ἄλλο ἐπιεικὲς ἢ ἐπὶ τιμῇ ἐπέπρακτο Ἄραψιν ἐς αὐτόν· τὸ δὲ ἀληθές, ὥς γέ μοι δοκεῖ, ἄπληστος ἦν τοῦ κτᾶσθαί τι ἀεὶ Ἀλέξανδρος.

XX. Λόγος δὲ κατέχει ὅτι ἤκουεν Ἄραβας δύο μόνον τιμᾶν θεούς, τὸν Οὐρανόν τε καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον, τὸν μὲν Οὐρανόν τε αὐτὸν ὁρώμενον καὶ τὰ ἄστρα ἐν οἷ ἔχοντα τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τὸν ἥλιον, ἀφ᾽ ὅτου μεγίστη καὶ φανοτάτη ὠφέλεια ἐς πάντα ἥκει τὰ ἀνθρώπινα· Διόνυσον δὲ κατὰ δόξαν τῆς ἐς Ἰνδοὺς στρατιᾶς.[2] Οὔκουν ἀπαξιοῦν καὶ αὑτὸν τρίτον ἂν νομισθῆναι πρὸς Ἀράβων θεόν, οὐ φαυλότερα ἔργα Διονύσου ἀποδειξάμενον, εἴπερ οὖν καὶ Ἀράβων κρατήσας, ἐπιτρέψειεν αὐτοῖς, καθάπερ Ἰνδοῖς, πολιτεύειν
2 κατὰ τὰ σφῶν νόμιμα. Τῆς τε χώρας ἡ εὐδαιμονία ὑπεκίνει αὐτόν, ὅτι ἤκουεν ἐκ μὲν τῶν λιμνῶν τὴν κασίαν γίγνεσθαι αὐτοῖς, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν δένδρων τὴν σμύρναν τε καὶ τὸν λιβανωτόν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν θαμνίσκων τὸ κινάμωμον τέμνεσθαι, οἱ λειμῶνες δὲ ὅτι νάρδον αὐτόματοι ἐκφέρουσι· τό τε μέγεθος τῆς χώρας, ὅτι οὐκ ἐλάττων ἡ παράλιος τῆς Ἀραβίας ἤπερ ἡ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς αὐτῷ ἐξηγγέλλετο, καὶ νῆσοι αὐτῇ προσκεῖσθαι πολλαί, καὶ

[1] πολλοὺς Polak παραλίους.

[2] As elsewhere, when in this sense, Ellendt edits στρατείας.

and the islands that lie near: for he thought that it would be just as prosperous a country as Phoenicia. His naval preparations were chiefly directed at the greater part of the Arabs, on the ground that they alone of the tribes on this side had sent no envoys, nor had done anything complimentary, or by way of honouring Alexander. The actual fact, in my estimation, is that Alexander was always insatiate in winning possessions.

XX. There is a story current that Alexander heard that the tribes of Arabs reverenced only two gods, Uranus and Dionysus; Uranus because they behold him and he contains within him all the stars and especially the sun, from which the greatest and most obvious benefit, in all directions, comes to mankind; Dionysus, in view of his journey to India. Alexander therefore thought himself worthy to be regarded as a third god by the Arabs, since he had achieved even more famous deeds than Dionysus, at any rate if he should conquer Arabia and permit them, as he had the Indians, to be governed according to their own customs. Then the prosperity of the country incited him, since he heard that in their oases cassia grew, and from the trees came myrrh and frankincense; and from the bushes, cinnamon was cut; and that from their meadows spikenard grew self-sown. Then there was also the size of their territory, since the sea-coast of Arabia was reported to him to be not less long than that of India, and that there were several islands adjacent,

λιμένες πανταχοῦ τῆς χώρας ἐνεῖναι, οἷοι παρασχεῖν μὲν ὅρμους τῷ ναυτικῷ, παρασχεῖν δὲ καὶ πόλεις ἐνοικισθῆναι καὶ ταύτας γενέσθαι εὐδαίμονας.

3 Δύο δὲ νῆσοι κατὰ τὸ στόμα τοῦ Εὐφράτου πελάγιαι ἐξηγγέλλοντο αὐτῷ, ἡ μὲν πρώτη οὐ πρόσω τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ Εὐφράτου, ἐς ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίους ἀπέχουσα ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ ποταμοῦ, μικροτέρα δὲ αὕτη καὶ δασεῖα ὕλῃ παντοίᾳ· εἶναι δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος, καὶ τοὺς οἰκήτορας αὐτοὺς
4 ἀμφὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τὰ τῆς διαίτης ποιεῖσθαι· νέμεσθαί τε αὐτὴν αἰξί τε ἀγρίαις καὶ ἐλάφοις, καὶ ταύτας ἀνεῖσθαι ἀφέτους τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, οὐδὲ εἶναι θέμις θήραν ποιεῖσθαι ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὅτι μὴ θῦσαί τινα τῇ θεῷ ἐθέλοντα· ἐπὶ τῷδε θηρᾶν μόνον· ἐπὶ τῷδε γὰρ οὐκ εἶναι ἀθέμιτον. Καὶ ταύτην τὴν νῆσον λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος ὅτι Ἴκαρον ἐκέλευσε καλεῖσθαι Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ τῆς νήσου
5 τῆς Ἰκάρου τῆς ἐν τῷ Αἰγαίῳ πόντῳ, ἐς ἥντινα Ἴκαρον τὸν Δαιδάλου τακέντος τοῦ κηροῦ ὅτῳ προσήρτητο τὰ πτερὰ πεσεῖν ὁ λόγος κατέχει, ὅτι οὐ κατὰ τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ πατρὸς πρὸς τῇ γῇ ἐφέρετο, ἀλλὰ μετέωρος γὰρ ὑπὸ ἀνοίας πετόμενος παρέσχε τῷ ἡλίῳ θάλψαι τε καὶ ἀνεῖναι τὸν κηρόν, καὶ ἀπὸ ἑαυτοῦ τὸν Ἴκαρον τῇ τε νήσῳ καὶ τῷ πελάγει τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἐγκαταλιπεῖν τὴν μὲν Ἴκαρον καλεῖσθαι, τὸ δὲ Ἰκάριον.
6 Ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα νῆσος ἀπέχειν μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ Εὐφράτου ἐλέγετο ὅσον πλοῦν ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς κατ' οὖρον θεούσῃ νηΐ· Τύλος δὲ αὐτῇ εἶναι ὄνομα· μεγάλη δὲ εἶναι καὶ οὔτε τραχεῖα ἡ

and harbours all over the coast, large enough to give anchorage for his fleet, and to permit cities to be built on them, and those cities likely to be rich.

He was also informed of two islands in the sea near the mouth of the Euphrates. The first was not far from its outlet, being about a hundred and twenty stades from the shore, and from the river mouth; this one is smaller, and covered all over with thick wood; there was in it also a shrine of Artemis, and the dwellers about the shrine themselves performed the daily services; it pastured wild goats and chamois, and these were reserved as sacred to Artemis, and no one was allowed to hunt them save any who desired to sacrifice to the goddess: on this excuse only might anyone hunt, and for this purpose hunting was not forbidden. This island, according to Aristobulus, Alexander commanded to be called Icarus, after the island Icarus in the Aegean Sea, upon which Icarus, son of Daedalus, according to the legend, fell when the wax, with which his wings had been fastened, melted, because he did not, according to his father's behest, fly low near the ground, but from his own folly flew high and so allowed the sun to melt and loose the wax; and so he left his name to both island and sea, the one being called Icarus, the other, Icarian. The other island was reported to be distant from the mouth of the Euphrates about a day and night's sail for a ship running before the wind; it was called Tylus; and it was large, and

πολλὴ οὔτε ὑλώδης, ἀλλ' οἷα καρπούς τε ἡμέρους ἐκφέρειν καὶ πάντα ὡραῖα.

7 Ταυτὶ ἀπηγγέλθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὰ μὲν πρὸς Ἀρχίου, ὃς ξὺν τριακοντόρῳ ἐκπεμφθεὶς ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ τοῦ παράπλου τοῦ ὡς ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἄραβας μέχρι μὲν τῆς νήσου τῆς Τύλου ἦλθεν, τὸ πρόσω δὲ οὐκέτι περαιωθῆναι ἐτόλμησεν· Ἀνδροσθένης δὲ ξὺν ἄλλῃ τριακοντόρῳ σταλεὶς καὶ τῆς χερρονήσου τι τῶν Ἀράβων παρέπλευσε· μακροτάτω δὲ τῶν ἐκπεμφθέντων προὐχώρησεν Ἱέρων ὁ Σολεὺς ὁ κυβερνήτης, λαβὼν καὶ οὗτος παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου τριακόντορον.
8 Ἦν μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ προστεταγμένον περιπλεῦσαι τὴν χερρόνησον τὴν Ἀράβων πᾶσαν ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸν κόλπον τὸν πρὸς Αἰγύπτῳ τὸν Ἀράβιον τὸν καθ' Ἡρώων πόλιν· οὐ μὴν ἐτόλμησέ γε τὸ πρόσω ἐλθεῖν, καίτοι ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ παραπλεύσας τὴν Ἀράβων γῆν· ἀλλ' ἀναστρέψας γὰρ παρ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἐξήγγειλε τὸ μέγεθός τε τῆς χερρονήσου θαυμαστόν τι εἶναι καὶ ὅσον οὐ πολὺ ἀποδέον τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς, ἄκραν τε ἀνέχειν ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς
9 μεγάλης θαλάσσης· ἣν δὴ καὶ τοὺς ξὺν Νεάρχῳ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς πλέοντας, πρὶν ἐπικάμψαι ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν Περσικόν, οὐ πόρρω ἀνατείνουσαν ἰδεῖν τε καὶ παρ' ὀλίγον ἐλθεῖν διαβαλεῖν ἐς αὐτήν, καὶ Ὀνησικρίτῳ τῷ κυβερνήτῃ ταύτῃ δοκοῦν· ἀλλὰ Νέαρχος λέγει ὅτι αὐτὸς διεκώλυσεν, ὡς ἐκπεριπλεύσας τὸν κόλπον τὸν Περσικὸν ἔχοι ἀπαγγεῖλαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐφ' οἷστισι πρὸς
10 αὐτοῦ ἐστάλη· οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ πλεῦσαι τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν ἐστάλθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ καταμαθεῖν τὴν χώραν τὴν προσεχῆ τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ

neither rough nor wooded for the most part; but the sort which bore garden fruits and all things in due season.

All this was told to Alexander, partly by Archias, who was sent with a thirty-oared ship to reconnoitre the coastal voyage towards Arabia and arrived at the island Tylus,[1] but did not venture further; but Androsthenes was despatched with another thirty-oar, and sailed round part of the Arabian peninsula; but farthest of all those who were sent out, Hieron of Soli the steersman advanced, who also received a thirty-oar from Alexander. For his sailing orders were to coast round the whole Arabian peninsula, till he reached the Arabian Gulf on the Egyptian side, near Heroöpolis; yet he did not dare to advance further, though he had sailed round the greater part of Arabia; but he turned about, and reported to Alexander the size of the peninsula as vast, and not far short of that of India; and that a projection ran far into the ocean. And this Nearchus' crews, when sailing from India, sighted, before they altered course for the Persian Gulf, stretching out not far away; and indeed were on the point of putting in there; that at least was the advice of Onesicritus the helmsman. But Nearchus states that he forbade this, so that, after completing his voyage round the Persian Gulf, he could report to Alexander on the purposes for which he had been despatched. For he had not been sent to navigate the Ocean, but to reconnoitre the coast lying on the Ocean, and the

[1] In Strabo (xvi. 3) it is called Tyrus, now Bahrein.

τοὺς κατοικοῦντας αὐτὴν ἀνθρώπους, ὅρμους τε ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ὕδατα καὶ τὰ νόμαια τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ εἴ τις ἀγαθὴ καρποὺς ἐκφέρειν ἢ εἴ τις κακή· καὶ οὖν καὶ τοῦτο αἴτιον γενέσθαι ἀποσωθῆναι Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸν στρατόν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν σωθῆναι πλεύσαντας ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀραβίας τὰ ἔρημα, ἐφ' ὅτῳ ὁ Ἱέρων ἐπιστρέψαι ὀπίσω λέγεται.

XXI. Ἐν ᾧ δὲ αὐτῷ ἐναυπηγοῦντο μὲν αἱ τριήρεις, ὁ λιμὴν δὲ πρὸς Βαβυλῶνι ὠρύσσετο, ἐκπλεῖ ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος κατὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Παλλακόπαν καλούμενον ποταμόν. Ἀπέχει δὲ οὗτος τῆς Βαβυλῶνος σταδίους ὅσον ὀκτακοσίους, καὶ ἔστι διῶρυξ αὕτη ὁ Παλλακόπας ἐκ τοῦ Εὐφράτου, οὐχὶ δὲ ἐκ πηγῶν τις ἀνίσχων
2 ποταμός. Ὁ γὰρ Εὐφράτης ποταμὸς ῥέων ἐκ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ὀρῶν χειμῶνος μὲν ὥρᾳ προχωρεῖ κατὰ τὰς ὄχθας, οἷα δὴ οὐ πολλοῦ ὄντος αὐτῷ τοῦ ὕδατος· ἦρος δὲ ὑποφαίνοντος καὶ πολὺ δὴ μάλιστα ὑπὸ τροπὰς ἅστινας τοῦ θέρους ὁ ἥλιος ἐπιστρέφει μέγας τε ἐπέρχεται καὶ ὑπερβάλλει ὑπὲρ τὰς ὄχθας ἐς τὴν γῆν τὴν Ἀσσυρίαν.
3 Τηνικαῦτα γὰρ αἱ χιόνες αἱ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄρεσι τοῖς Ἀρμενίοις κατατηκόμεναι αὔξουσιν αὐτῷ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπὶ μέγα, ὅτι δὲ ἐπιπολῆς ἐστιν αὐτῷ καὶ ὑψηλὸς ὁ ῥοῦς, ὑπερβάλλει ἐς τὴν χώραν, εἰ μή τις ἀναστομώσας αὐτὸν κατὰ τὸν Παλλακόπαν ἐς τὰ ἕλη τε ἐκτρέψειε καὶ τὰς λίμνας, αἳ δὴ ἀρχόμεναι ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς διώρυχος[1] ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν ξυνεχῆ τῇ τῶν Ἀράβων γῇ καὶ ἔνθεν μὲν ἐς τέναγος ἐπὶ πολύ, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἐς θάλασσαν κατὰ

[1] After διώρυχος Roos adds διήκουσιν, but we have already seen Arrian in anacolutha and brachylogies.

inhabitants of the coast, and its anchorages, and its water supplies, and the manners and customs of the inhabitants, and what part of the coast was good for growing produce, and what part was bad; and that this was the reason that Alexander's navy came through safely, for they would never have come through safe by sailing beyond the desert parts of Arabia. This too is the reason given for Hieron's return.

XXI. Meanwhile, as the triremes were being built, and the harbour at Babylon being dug, Alexander sailed from Babylon down the Euphrates towards the river known as Pallacopas. This is eight hundred stades away from Babylon, and this Pallacopas is a canal from the Euphrates, not a river which rises from its own springs. For the Euphrates river flows from the Armenian hills, and in the winter season runs within its banks, its volume of water not being very great; but when spring begins, and especially during the summer solstice, it grows considerable and overflows its banks on to the Assyrian land. For it is then that the snows on the Armenian mountains melt and increase its volume considerably, and since the stream is high and swollen, it overflows into the surrounding country, unless it were diverted along the Pallacopas and so turned on to the marshes and the lakes, which begin with this canal and continue up to the territory nearest to Arabia, and thence running mostly over marshland finally pour out into the sea by many

4 πολλά τε καὶ ἀφανῆ στόματα ἐκδιδοῦσι. Τετη-
κυίας δὲ τῆς χιόνος ἀμφὶ Πλειάδων μάλιστα
δύσιν ὀλίγος τε ὁ Εὐφράτης ῥέει καὶ οὐδὲν μεῖον
τὸ πολὺ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸν Παλλακόπαν ἐκδιδοῖ
ἐς τὰς λίμνας. Εἰ δή τις μὴ ἀποφράξειε τὸν
Παλλακόπαν αὖθις, ὡς κατὰ τὰς ὄχθας ἐκτραπὲν
φέρεσθαι τὸ ὕδωρ κατὰ τὸν πόρον, ἐκένωσεν ἂν
τὸν Εὐφράτην ἐς αὐτόν, ὡς μηδ᾽ ἐπάρδεσθαι ἀπ᾽
5 αὐτοῦ τὴν Ἀσσυρίαν γῆν. Ἀλλ᾽ ἀπεφράσσοντο
γὰρ αἱ ἐς τὸν Παλλακόπαν τοῦ Εὐφράτου ἐκβολαὶ
πρὸς τοῦ σατράπου τῆς Βαβυλωνίας πολλῷ
πόνῳ, καίπερ οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀναστομούμεναι, ὅτι
ἰλυώδης τε ἡ ταύτῃ γῆ καὶ πηλὸς ἡ πολλὴ αὐτῆς,
οἵα δεχομένη τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μὴ εὐμαρῆ τὴν
ἀποστροφὴν αὐτοῦ παρέχειν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τρίτον
μῆνα Ἀσσυρίων ἄνδρες ὑπὲρ τοὺς μυρίους ἐν
τῷδε τῷ πόνῳ ξυνείχοντο.
6 Ταῦτα ἀπαγγελθέντα ἐπήγαγεν Ἀλέξανδρον
ὠφελῆσαί τι τὴν χώραν τῶν Ἀσσυρίων. Ἔνθεν
μὲν δὴ ἐς τὸν Παλλακόπαν ἐτρέπετο τοῦ Εὐφρά-
του ὁ ῥοῦς, ταύτῃ δὲ ἔγνω βεβαίως ἀποκλεῖσαι
τὴν ἐκβολήν· προελθόντι δὲ ὅσον σταδίους τριά-
κοντα ὑπόπετρος ἡ γῆ ἐφαίνετο, οἵα διακοπεῖσα,
εἰ ξυναφὴς γένοιτο τῇ πάλαι διώρυχι τῇ κατὰ
τὸν Παλλακόπαν, οὔτ᾽ ἂν διαχεῖσθαι παρέχειν
τὸ ὕδωρ ὑπὸ στερρότητος τῆς γῆς, τήν τε
ἀποστροφὴν αὐτοῦ τῇ τεταγμένῃ ὥρᾳ μὴ χαλε-
7 πῶς γίγνεσθαι. Τούτων ἕνεκα ἐπί τε τὸν Παλ-
λακόπαν ἔπλευσε καὶ κατ᾽ αὐτὸν καταπλεῖ ἐς
τὰς λίμνας ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀράβων γῆν. Ἔνθα
χῶρόν τινα ἐν καλῷ ἰδὼν πόλιν ἐξῳκοδόμησέ
τε καὶ ἐτείχισε, καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ κατῴκισε τῶν

obscure mouths. Then when the snow has melted about the setting of the Pleiads the Euphrates runs with diminished stream, and yet all the same lets its overflow run by means of the Pallacopas into the lakes. If, however, the bed of the Pallacopas was not in turn blocked, so that the stream headed off by the banks remains in its bed, it would have drained off the Euphrates into it, and then the Assyrian plain would never be watered from it. But the outlets of the Euphrates into the Pallacopas were blocked by the satrap of Babylon, with considerable labour, even though they can easily be opened, since the earth about there is muddy and the most part of it is soft clay such as lets through the river water and makes it none too easy to turn the river back. Yet even so for three months over ten thousand Assyrians were engaged on this task.

When this was reported to Alexander it incited him to try to assist the land of Assyria. So then at the point where the stream of Euphrates was turned into the Pallacopas, he determined to close the outlet securely; but when he had gone about thirty stades he found the earth appearing rather stony; suggesting that if it were quarried, and then united with the old canal along the Pallacopas, it would not permit the water to pass through because of the solidity of the soil, and yet its shutting off could easily be done at the right season. For these reasons he sailed to the Pallacopas and down, by it, to the lakes in the direction of Arabia. There he saw a good site and built a city there and fortified it, and settled there

Ἑλλήνων τινὰς τῶν μισθοφόρων, ὅσοι τε ἑκόντες καὶ ὅσοι ὑπὸ γήρως ἢ κατὰ πήρωσιν ἀπόλεμοι ἦσαν.

XXII. Αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς ἐξελέγξας δὴ τῶν Χαλδαίων τὴν μαντείαν, ὅτι οὐδὲν πεπονθὼς εἴη ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἄχαρι, καθάπερ ἐκεῖνοι ἐμαντεύσαντο, ἀλλ' ἔφθη γὰρ ἐλάσας ἔξω Βαβυλῶνος πρίν τι παθεῖν, ἀνέπλει αὖθις κατὰ τὰ ἕλη θαρρῶν, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχων τὴν Βαβυλῶνα· ἵνα δὴ καὶ ἐπλανήθη αὐτῷ μέρος τοῦ ναυτικοῦ κατὰ τὰ στενὰ ἀπορίᾳ ἡγεμόνος, πρίν γε δὴ αὐτὸς πέμψας τὸν ἡγησό-
2 μενον ἐπανήγαγεν αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸν πόρον. Λόγος δὲ λέγεται τοιόσδε. Τῶν βασιλέων τῶν Ἀσσυρίων τοὺς τάφους ἐν ταῖς λίμναις τε εἶναι τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἕλεσι δεδομημένους. Ὡς δὲ ἔπλει Ἀλέξανδρος κατὰ τὰ ἕλη, κυβερνᾶν γὰρ αὐτὸν λόγος τὴν τριήρη, πνεύματος μεγάλου ἐμπεσόντος αὐτῷ ἐς τὴν καυσίαν καὶ τὸ διάδημα αὐτῇ συνεχόμενον, τὴν μὲν δὴ οἷα βαρυτέραν πεσεῖν ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ, τὸ διάδημα δὲ ἀπενεχθὲν πρὸς τῆς πνοῆς σχεθῆναι ἐν καλάμῳ· τὸν κάλαμον δὲ τῶν ἐπιπεφυκότων εἶναι τάφῳ τινὶ τῶν
3 πάλαι βασιλέων. Τοῦτό τε οὖν αὐτὸ πρὸ τῶν μελλόντων σημῆναι καὶ ὅτι τῶν τις ναυτῶν ἐκνηξάμενος ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ διάδημα ἀφελὼν τοῦ καλάμου αὐτὸ μετὰ χεῖρας μὲν οὐκ ἤνεγκεν, ὅτι νηχομένου ἂν αὐτοῦ ἐβρέχετο, περιθεὶς δὲ τῇ
4 κεφαλῇ τῇ αὑτοῦ οὕτω διήνεγκε. Καὶ οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ τῶν ἀναγραψάντων τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου λέγουσιν ὅτι τάλαντον μὲν ἐδωρήσατο αὐτῷ Ἀλέξανδρος τῆς προθυμίας εἵνεκα, ἀποτεμεῖν δὲ ἐκέλευσε τὴν κεφαλήν, τῶν μάντεων ταύτῃ

some of the Greek mercenaries, any who volunteered, and any who through age or wounds were unfit for service.

XXII. Then Alexander, as if he had proved false the Chaldaean soothsayers, since he had suffered nothing harmful in Babylon, as they had prophesied, but had marched out of Babylon again before anything had happened, sailed up the marsh lands boldly, with Babylon on his left hand; but here some of his flotilla lost its way in the narrows for want of a pilot, until Alexander himself sent them a pilot and brought them back into the stream. A tale is told as follows. Most of the tombs of the kings of Assyria are built in the lakes and in the marsh lands. And as Alexander was sailing along the marshes, for he—as is said—was steering the trireme, a strong breeze struck his sun-hat and the ribbon attached to it, and the hat being heavy fell into the stream, but the ribbon was carried off by the breeze and caught on a reed; the reed being one of them which grew near a tomb of the ancient kings. This itself seemed a presage of his destiny; one of the sailors, moreover, swam off to fetch the ribbon, and removing it from the reed could not carry it in his hands, since it would have become wet as he swam; but he bound it round his head and so brought it across. Most of the historians of Alexander say that he gave him a reward of a talent for his smartness, but bade them behead

ἐξηγησαμένων, μὴ περιιδεῖν σώαν ἐκείνην τὴν κεφαλὴν ἥτις τὸ διάδημα ἐφόρησε τὸ βασίλειον· Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ τάλαντον μὲν ὅτι ἔλαβε λέγει αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ πληγὰς λαβεῖν τῆς περιθέσεως
6 ἕνεκα τοῦ διαδήματος. Ἀριστόβουλος μὲν δὴ τῶν τινα Φοινίκων τῶν ναυτῶν λέγει ὅτι τὸ διάδημα τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐκόμισεν· εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ Σέλευκον λέγουσι. Καὶ τοῦτο τῷ τε Ἀλεξάνδρῳ σημῆναι τὴν τελευτὴν καὶ τῷ Σελεύκῳ τὴν βασιλείαν τὴν μεγάλην. Σέλευκον γὰρ μέγιστον τῶν μετὰ Ἀλέξανδρον διαδεξαμένων τὴν ἀρχὴν βασιλέα γενέσθαι τήν τε γνώμην βασιλικώτατον καὶ πλείστης γῆς ἐπάρξαι μετά γε αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον οὔ μοι δοκεῖ ἰέναι ἐς ἀμφίλογον.

XXIII. Ἐπανελθὼν δὲ ἐς Βαβυλῶνα καταλαμβάνει Πευκέσταν ἥκοντα ἐκ Περσῶν, ἄγοντα στρατιὰν Περσῶν ἐς δισμυρίους· ἦγε δὲ καὶ Κοσσαίων καὶ Ταπούρων οὐκ ὀλίγους, ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα ἔθνη τῶν προσχώρων τῇ Περσίδι μαχιμώτατα εἶναι ἐξηγγέλλετο. Ἧκε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Φιλόξενος στρατιὰν ἄγων ἀπὸ Καρίας καὶ Μένανδρος ἐκ Λυδίας ἄλλους καὶ Μενίδας τοὺς ἱππέας
2 ἄγων τοὺς αὐτῷ ξυνταχθέντας. Καὶ πρεσβεῖαι δὲ ἐν τούτῳ ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἧκον, καὶ τούτων οἱ πρέσβεις αὐτοί τε ἐστεφανωμένοι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ προσῆλθον καὶ ἐστεφάνουν αὐτὸν στεφάνοις χρυσοῖς, ὡς θεωροὶ δῆθεν ἐς τιμὴν θεοῦ ἀφιγμένοι. Τῷ δὲ οὐ πόρρω ἄρα ἡ τελευτὴ ἦν.

3 Ἔνθα δὴ τούς τε Πέρσας ἐπαινέσας τῆς προθυμίας, ὅτι πάντα Πευκέστᾳ ἐπείθοντο, καὶ αὐτὸν Πευκέσταν τῆς ἐν κόσμῳ αὐτῶν ἐξηγήσεως, κατέλεγεν αὐτοὺς ἐς τὰς Μακεδονικὰς τάξεις,

him, since the prophets so bade him not to leave alive that head which had worn the royal ribbon. Aristobulus, however, states that he received the talent, but was flogged for fastening the ribbon about his head. Aristobulus also says that it was one of the Phoenician sailors who brought back to Alexander his ribbon; some say it was Seleucus: and that this portended the death of Alexander and his great empire for Seleucus. For at any rate Seleucus was the greatest king of those who succeeded Alexander, and of the most royal mind, and ruled over the greatest extent of territory, next to Alexander; all this I regard as irrefragable.

XXIII. Alexander then returned to Babylon and found Peucestas with an army of twenty thousand Persians arrived from Persia; he had brought also a number of Cossaeans and Tapurians, because it was reported that these tribes were most warlike of the tribes bordering on Persia. There joined him also Philoxenus with an army from Caria and Menander from Lydia bringing others, and Menidas with the forces of cavalry which had been serving under him. Embassies also in the meantime came from Greece, and their envoys, themselves crowned, came forward and crowned Alexander with golden crowns, as if they had come on a sacred embassy to honour some god. And yet he was not far from his end.

Then he commended the Persians for their enthusiasm, in that they had in all things obeyed Peucestas, and Peucestas himself too for his orderly government of them; and he enrolled them into the

δεκαδάρχην μὲν τῆς δεκάδος ἡγεῖσθαι Μακεδόνα καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ διμοιρίτην Μακεδόνα καὶ δεκαστάτηρον, οὕτως ὀνομαζόμενον ἀπὸ τῆς μισθοφορᾶς, ἥντινα μείονα μὲν τοῦ διμοιρίτου, πλείονα δὲ τῶν οὐκ ἐν τιμῇ στρατευομένων
4 ἔφερεν· ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ δώδεκα Πέρσας καὶ τελευταῖον τῆς δεκάδος Μακεδόνα, δεκαστάτηρον καὶ τοῦτον· ὥστε ἐν τῇ δεκάδι τέσσαρας μὲν εἶναι Μακεδόνας, τοὺς μὲν τρεῖς τῇ μισθοφορᾷ προὔχοντας, τὸν δὲ τῇ ἀρχῇ τῆς δεκάδος, δώδεκα δὲ Πέρσας, τοὺς μὲν Μακεδόνας τὴν πάτριον ὅπλισιν ὡπλισμένους, τοὺς δὲ Πέρσας τοὺς μὲν τοξότας, τοὺς δὲ καὶ μεσάγκυλα ἔχοντας.

5 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ πολλάκις μὲν τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἀπεπειρᾶτο, πολλαὶ δὲ ἔριδες αὐτῷ τῶν τριηρῶν καὶ ὅσαι τετρήρεις κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐγίγνοντο, καὶ ἀγῶνες τῶν τε ἐρετῶν καὶ τῶν κυβερνητῶν καὶ στέφανοι τῶν νικώντων.

6 Ἧκον δὲ καὶ παρὰ Ἄμμωνος οἱ θεωροὶ οὕστινας ἐστάλκει ἐρησομένους ὅπως θέμις αὐτῷ τιμᾶν Ἡφαιστίωνα· οἱ δὲ ὡς ἥρωϊ ἔφησαν ὅτι θύειν θέμις ὁ Ἄμμων λέγει. Ὁ δὲ ἔχαιρέ τε τῇ μαντείᾳ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ὡς ἥρωα ἐγέραιρε. Καὶ Κλεομένει, ἀνδρὶ κακῷ καὶ πολλὰ ἀδικήματα ἀδικήσαντι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, ἐπιστέλλει ἐπιστολήν· καὶ ταύτην τῆς μὲν ἐς Ἡφαιστίωνα καὶ ἀποθανόντα φιλίας ἕνεκα καὶ μνήμης οὐ μέμφομαι
7 ἔγωγε· ἄλλων δὲ πολλῶν ἕνεκα μέμφομαι. Ἔλεγε γὰρ ἡ ἐπιστολὴ κατασκευασθῆναι Ἡφαιστίωνι ἡρῷον ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τῇ Αἰγυπτίᾳ, ἔν τε τῇ πόλει αὐτῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τῇ Φάρῳ, ἵνα ὁ πύργος ἐστὶν ὁ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, μεγέθει τε

Macedonian brigades; so that a Macedonian corporal of ten led each company, and besides him a Macedonian on double pay and a "ten-stater" man, called so from the pay, which is less than the men on double pay, but more than the rank and file not belonging to the Distinguished Service Order. Then besides these were twelve Persians and last of the section a Macedonian, he also a "ten-stater" man. In the section, therefore, there were four Macedonians, three of these on extra pay, and the corporal in charge of the section, and twelve Persians; the Macedonians wearing their native equipment, and the Persians either archers or with javelins on leather thongs.

Meanwhile Alexander exercised the fleet constantly, and there were many rivalries between the triremes and such quadriremes as were on the river; and there were races between oarsmen and between helmsmen, and crowns for the victors.

There came also from Ammon the special envoys whom Alexander had sent to enquire how he ought to honour Hephaestion; they reported that Ammon said that it was lawful to sacrifice to him as to a hero. Alexander was pleased with this oracle, and from henceforward honoured Hephaestion as a hero. To Cleomenes, an evil man who had done many grievous wrongs in Egypt, he sent a letter; and with this letter, in regard to the affection shown for Hephaestion even in death and the recollection of him, I do not find any fault; but I do, for many other reasons. For the letter bade him build a hero's shrine for Hephaestion in Alexandreia of Egypt, both in the city itself and in the island Pharos, where is the lantern tower in the island; the shrine was to be in size

μέγιστον[1] καὶ πολυτελείᾳ ἐκπρεπέστατον· καὶ ὅπως ἐπικρατήσῃ καλεῖσθαι ἀπὸ Ἡφαιστίωνος, καὶ τοῖς συμβολαίοις καθ' ὅσα οἱ ἔμποροι ἀλλήλοις ξυμβάλλουσιν ἐγγράφεσθαι τὸ ὄνομα Ἡφαιστίω-
8 νος. Ταῦτα μὲν οὐκ ἔχω μέμψασθαι, πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι οὐκ ἐπὶ μεγάλοις μεγάλως διεσπουδάζετο· ἐκεῖνα δὲ καὶ πάνυ μέμφομαι. Ἢν γὰρ καταλάβω ἐγώ, ἔλεγε τὰ γράμματα, τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καλῶς κατεσκευασμένα καὶ τὰ ἡρῷα τὰ Ἡφαιστίωνος, εἴ τέ τι πρότερον ἡμάρτηκας, ἀφήσω σε τούτων, καὶ τὸ λοιπόν, ὁπηλίκον ἂν ἁμάρτῃς, οὐδὲν πείσῃ ἐξ ἐμοῦ ἄχαρι. Τοῦτο ἀνδρὶ ἄρχοντι πολλῆς μὲν χώρας, πολλῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἐκ βασιλέως μεγάλου ἐπεσταλμένον, ἄλλως τε καὶ κακῷ ἀνδρί, οὐκ ἔχω ἐπαινέσαι.

XXIV. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ αὐτῷ ἤδη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐγγὺς ἦν τὸ τέλος. Καί τι καὶ τοιόνδε πρὸ τῶν μελλόντων σημῆναι λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος· καταλοχίζειν μὲν αὐτὸν τὴν στρατιὰν τὴν ξὺν Πευκέστᾳ τε ἐκ Περσῶν καὶ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ξὺν Φιλοξένῳ καὶ Μενάνδρῳ ἥκουσαν ἐς τὰς Μακεδονικὰς τάξεις· διψήσαντα δὲ ἀποχωρῆσαι ἐκ τῆς ἕδρας καταλιπόντα ἔρημον τὸν θρόνον τὸν βασίλειον.
2 Εἶναι δὲ κλίνας ἑκατέρωθεν τοῦ θρόνου ἀργυρόποδας, ἐφ' ὧν οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἑταῖροι ἐκάθηντο. Τῶν τινα οὖν ἠμελημένων ἀνθρώπων, οἱ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν φυλακῇ ἀδέσμῳ ὄντα λέγουσιν, ἔρημον ἰδόντα τὸν θρόνον καὶ τὰς κλίνας, περὶ τῷ θρόνῳ δὲ ἑστηκότας τοὺς εὐνούχους, καὶ γὰρ καὶ οἱ ἑταῖροι ξυνανέστησαν τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀποχωροῦντι,

[1] So B. A has μέγιστος and ἐκπρεπέστατος, clearly in error.

exceedingly large, and remarkable for its costliness; and that he was to take care that the shrine be called by the name of Hephaestion, and the name "Hephaestion" was to be inscribed on all contracts which merchants entered on with each other. This I cannot blame; except that Alexander showed great enthusiasm in no great matter. But I do blame this; the letter ran: "If I find these temples set in good order in Egypt, and these shrines of Hephaestion, whatever wrong you have hitherto done, I pardon it; and for the future, however great wrong you may do, you shall receive no harm at my hands." This command of a great king to a man who was set to rule a great country and a large population, and an evil man, too, I am very far from approving.

XXIV. But Alexander's own end was drawing near. Aristobulus says that something else threw a shadow before of the events to come. He was distributing the army which came with Peucestas from Persia and from the ocean with Philoxenus and Menander, into the Macedonian ranks; and feeling thirsty he went away from the tribunal, leaving the royal throne untenanted. On either side of the throne were couches with silver feet, on which the Companions in attendance on him used to sit. Some quite obscure person—some say a prisoner, but under open arrest—saw the throne vacant and the couches, and the chamberlains standing round about the throne—for the Companions had retired when the

διελθόντα διὰ τῶν εὐνούχων ἀναβῆναί τε ἐπὶ τὸν
3 θρόνον καὶ καθέζεσθαι. Τοὺς δὲ οὐκ ἀναστῆσαι μὲν αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου κατὰ δή τινα νόμον Περσικόν, περιρρηξαμένους δὲ τύπτεσθαι τά τε στήθη καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα ὡς ἐπὶ μεγάλῳ κακῷ. Ταῦτα ὡς ἐξηγγέλθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, κελεῦσαι στρεβλωθῆναι τὸν καθίσαντα, μήποτε ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ξυντεταγμένον τοῦτο ἔδρασε γνῶναι ἐθέλοντα. Τὸν δὲ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐξειπεῖν ὅτι μὴ ἐπὶ νοῦν οἱ ἐλθὸν οὕτω πρᾶξαι· ᾗ δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπ' οὐδενὶ ἀγαθῷ ξυμβῆναι αὐτῷ οἱ μάντεις ἐξηγοῦντο.

4 Ἡμέραι τε οὐ πολλαὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐγένοντο καὶ τεθυκὼς τοῖς θεοῖς τάς τε νομιζομένας θυσίας ἐπὶ ξυμφοραῖς ἀγαθαῖς καί τινας καὶ ἐκ μαντείας εὐωχεῖτο ἅμα τοῖς φίλοις καὶ ἔπινε πόρρω τῶν νυκτῶν. Δοῦναι δὲ λέγεται καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ ἱερεῖα καὶ οἶνον κατὰ λόχους καὶ ἑκατοστύας. Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ πότου αὐτὸν μὲν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι ἐθέλειν ἐπὶ κοιτῶνι εἰσὶν οἳ ἀνέγραψαν· Μήδιον δὲ αὐτῷ ἐντυχόντα, τῶν ἑταίρων ἐν τῷ τότε τὸν πιθανώτατον, δεηθῆναι κωμάσαι παρὰ οἱ· γενέσθαι γὰρ ἂν ἡδὺν τὸν κῶμον.

XXV. Καὶ αἱ βασίλειοι ἐφημερίδες ὧδε ἔχουσι· πίνειν παρὰ Μηδίῳ αὐτὸν κωμάσαντα· ἔπειτα ἐξαναστάντα καὶ λουσάμενον καθεύδειν τε καὶ αὖθις δειπνεῖν παρὰ Μηδίῳ καὶ αὖθις πίνειν πόρρω τῶν νυκτῶν· ἀπαλλαχθέντα δὲ τοῦ πότου λούσασθαι· καὶ λουσάμενον ὀλίγον τι ἐμφαγεῖν καὶ καθεύδειν αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἤδη ἐπύρεσσεν.
2 Ἐκκομισθέντα δὲ ἐπὶ κλίνης πρὸς τὰ ἱερὰ θῦσαι ὡς νόμος ἐφ' ἑκάστῃ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐπιθέντα

King did—passed through the rank of chamberlains, ascended and sat upon the throne. They did not indeed—owing to some Persian custom—drag him off the throne, but rending their garments began to beat themselves on their breasts and faces as if some terrible disaster had happened. When Alexander learnt this, he ordered the man who had sat on the throne to be tortured, desiring to know if perchance he had done this by some set arrangement, of the nature of some plot. He would only say that the idea had come to him to do so; and for this the seers all the more prophesied that what had happened meant some great harm.

Not many days afterwards, Alexander had offered to the gods customary sacrifices in thanks for good fortune, as well as some in consequence of the seers' advice, and was feasting with his friends and drinking late into the night. It is said that he also gave victims to sacrifice to the army, and wine, by their sections and centuries. Some have recorded that he desired to leave the carouse and retire to his bedroom; but that Medius, one of his most trusted Companions at that time, met him and asked him to come and take wine with himself; for it would be a merry party.

XXV. And indeed the royal diaries have it this way, that he drank and made merry with Medius; and then having arisen and bathed, went to sleep, and afterwards dined with Medius, and again drank till late in the night; and then breaking off from the carouse bathed; and after bathing ate a little and slept just where he was, the fever being already upon him. However, he was carried forth on a litter each day to his religious duties and sacrificed after his usual custom; after performing these sacrifices he

κατακεῖσθαι ἐν τῷ ἀνδρῶνι ἔστε ἐπὶ κνέφας. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τοῖς ἡγεμόσι παραγγέλλειν ὑπὲρ τῆς πορείας καὶ τοῦ πλοῦ, τοὺς μὲν ὡς πεζῇ ἰόντας παρασκευάζεσθαι ἐς τετάρτην ἡμέραν, τοὺς δὲ ἅμα οἷ πλέοντας ὡς εἰς πέμπτην πλευ-
3 σομένους. Ἐκεῖθεν δὲ κατακομισθῆναι ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν, καὶ πλοίου ἐπιβάντα διαπλεῦσαι πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐς τὸν παράδεισον, κἀκεῖ αὖθις λουσάμενον ἀναπαύεσθαι. Ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν λούσασθαί τε αὖθις καὶ θῦσαι τὰ νομιζόμενα· καὶ εἰς τὴν καμάραν εἰσελθόντα κατακεῖσθαι διαμυθολογοῦντα πρὸς Μήδιον· παραγγεῖλαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἀπαντῆσαι
4 ἕωθεν. Ταῦτα πράξαντα δειπνῆσαι ὀλίγον· κομισθέντα δὲ αὖθις ἐς τὴν καμάραν πυρέσσειν ἤδη ξυνεχῶς τὴν νύκτα ὅλην· τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ λούσασθαι καὶ λουσάμενον θῦσαι. Νεάρχῳ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἡγεμόσι παραγγεῖλαι τὰ ἀμφὶ τὸν πλοῦν ὅπως ἔσται ἐς τρίτην ἡμέραν. Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ λούσασθαι αὖθις καὶ θῦσαι τὰ τεταγμένα, καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐπιθέντα οὐκέτι ἐλινύειν πυρέσσοντα. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὣς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας εἰσκαλέσαντα παραγγέλλειν τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἔκπλουν ὅπως αὐτῷ ἔσται ἕτοιμα· λούσασθαί τε ἐπὶ τῇ
5 ἑσπέρᾳ, καὶ λουσάμενον ἔχειν ἤδη κακῶς. Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ μετακομισθῆναι ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν πρὸς τῇ κολυμβήθρᾳ καὶ θῦσαι μὲν τὰ τεταγμένα, ἔχοντα δὲ πονήρως ὅμως ἐσκαλέσαι τῶν ἡγεμόνων τοὺς ἐπικαιροτάτους καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ πλοῦ αὖθις παραγγέλλειν. Τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ μόγις ἐκκομισθῆναι πρὸς τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ θῦσαι, καὶ μηδὲν μεῖον ἔτι παραγγέλλειν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πλοῦ τοῖς

lay down in the men's apartments till dark. Meanwhile he instructed the officers as to the march and the voyage, the one to prepare to march three days later, and the others, who would sail with him, to sail on the fourth day from then. And thence he was carried on his mattress to the river, and embarking on a boat sailed across the river to the garden, and there again bathed and rested. Next day again he bathed and offered the usual sacrifices; then entering his room lay down, talking to Medius; and bade his officers meet him next morning early. Then he dined lightly; and being carried again to his room remained in high fever the whole night; next day he bathed, and after bathing, sacrificed. Then he explained to Nearchus and the other officers all about the voyage, and how it was to be conducted, three days thence. Next day he bathed again, and sacrificed the appointed sacrifices, and after sacrificing continued in constant fever. Yet even so he summoned the officers and bade them see that all was ready for the voyage; he bathed in the evening, and after bathing was now very ill. But next day he was carried again to the house near the bathing place, and sacrificed the appointed sacrifices, and ill though he was, yet summoned the chief of his officers and again instructed them about the voyage. Next day he just contrived to be carried out to the sacrifices, and offered them, and yet still continued instructing

6 ἡγεμόσιν. Ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν κακῶς ἤδη ἔχοντα ὅμως θῦσαι τὰ τεταγμένα. Παραγγεῖλαι δὲ τοὺς μὲν στρατηγοὺς διατρίβειν κατὰ τὴν αὐλήν, χιλιάρχας δὲ καὶ πεντακοσιάρχας πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν. Ἤδη δὲ παντάπασι πονήρως ἔχοντα διακομισθῆναι ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου ἐς τὰ βασίλεια. Εἰσελθόντων δὲ τῶν ἡγεμόνων γνῶναι μὲν αὐτούς, φωνῆσαι δὲ μηδὲν ἔτι, ἀλλ' εἶναι ἄναυδον· καὶ τὴν νύκτα πυρέσσειν κακῶς καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην νύκτα καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν.

XXVI. Οὕτως ἐν ταῖς ἐφημερίσι ταῖς βασιλείοις ἀναγέγραπται, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὅτι οἱ στρατιῶται ἐπόθησαν ἰδεῖν αὐτόν, οἱ μέν, ὡς ζῶντα ἔτι ἴδοιεν· οἱ δέ, ὅτι τεθνηκέναι ἤδη ἐξηγγέλλετο, ἐπικρύπτεσθαι δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐτόπαζον πρὸς τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τὸν θάνατον, ὡς ἔγωγε δοκῶ· τοὺς πολλοὺς δὲ ὑπὸ πένθους καὶ πόθου τοῦ βασιλέως βιάσασθαι ἰδεῖν Ἀλέξανδρον. Τὸν δὲ ἄφωνον μὲν εἶναι λέγουσι παραπορευομένης τῆς στρατιᾶς· δεξιοῦσθαι δὲ καὶ ὡς ἑκάστους τήν τε κεφαλὴν ἐπαίροντα μόγις καὶ τοῖν ὀφθαλμοῖν
2 ἐπισημαίνοντα. Λέγουσι δὲ αἱ ἐφημερίδες αἱ βασίλειοι ἐν τοῦ Σαράπιδος τῷ ἱερῷ Πείθωνά τε ἐγκοιμηθέντα καὶ Ἄτταλον καὶ Δημοφῶντα καὶ Πευκέσταν, πρὸς δὲ Κλεομένην τε καὶ Μενίδαν καὶ Σέλευκον, ἐπερωτᾶν τὸν θεὸν εἰ λῷον καὶ ἄμεινον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ θεοῦ κομισθέντα καὶ ἱκετεύσαντα θεραπεύεσθαι πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ· και γενέσθαι φήμην τινὰ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ μὴ κομίζεσθαι εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ
3 μένοντι ἔσεσθαι ἄμεινον. Ταῦτά τε ἀπαγγεῖλαι τοὺς ἑταίρους καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον

his officers about the voyage. Next day also, being now quite ill, he yet offered the usual sacrifices. He ordered, however, the generals to wait in the court, and the commanders of thousands and half thousands to wait before the doors, and now being altogether ill he was carried from the garden to the palace. When the officers came in he knew them, but no longer spoke, but remained speechless. All the night he was in high fever, and all day, and the next night and day also.

XXVI. All this is written in the royal diaries; and then that his soldiers longed to see him, some, that they might see him still alive, and others since there was a report that he was already dead, because they suspected that his death was being concealed by the bodyguards—at least so I think; and most from grief and longing for their King pressed in to see Alexander. They say that he was already speechless as the army filed past; yet he greeted one and all, raising his head, though with difficulty, and signing to them with his eyes. And the royal diaries say that in the temple of Serapis an all-night vigil was kept by Peithon, Attalus, Demophon and Peucestas, with Cleomenes, Menidas, and Seleucus, enquiring of the god whether it would be better for Alexander to be brought into the temple of the god and after prayer to be healed by the god; but that an oracle was given from the god that he should not be brought into the temple, but that it would be better for him if he abode where he was. This the Companions announced; and Alexander shortly afterwards breathed his last;

ἀποθανεῖν, ὡς τοῦτο ἄρα ἤδη ὂν τὸ ἄμεινον. Οὐ πόρρω δὲ τούτων οὔτε Ἀριστοβούλῳ οὔτε Πτολεμαίῳ ἀναγέγραπται. Οἱ δὲ καὶ τάδε ἀνέγραψαν, ἐρέσθαι μὲν τοὺς ἑταίρους αὐτὸν ὅτῳ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπολείπει, τὸν δὲ ἀποκρίνασθαι ὅτι τῷ κρατίστῳ· οἱ δέ, προσθεῖναι πρὸς τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ ὅτι μέγαν ἐπιτάφιον ἀγῶνα ὁρᾷ ἐφ' αὐτῷ ἐσόμενον.

XXVII. Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα οἶδα ἀναγεγραμμένα ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτῆς, καὶ φάρμακον ὅτι ἐπέμφθη παρὰ Ἀντιπάτρου Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φαρμάκου ὅτι ἀπέθανε· καὶ τὸ φάρμακον ὅτι Ἀριστοτέλης μὲν Ἀντιπάτρῳ ἐξεῦρε, δεδοικὼς ἤδη Ἀλέξανδρον Καλλισθένους ἕνεκα, Κάσανδρος δὲ ὁ Ἀντιπάτρου ἐκόμισεν· οἱ δὲ καὶ ὅτι ἐν ἡμιόνου ὁπλῇ ἐκόμισε καὶ τοῦτο ἀνέγραψαν.
2 Δοῦναι δὲ αὐτὸ Ἰόλλαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Κασάνδρου τὸν νεώτερον· εἶναι γὰρ οἰνοχόον βασιλικὸν τὸν Ἰόλλαν καί τι καὶ λελυπῆσθαι πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου ὀλίγῳ πρόσθεν τῆς τελευτῆς· οἱ δὲ καὶ Μήδιον μετασχεῖν τοῦ ἔργου, ἐραστὴν ὄντα τοῦ Ἰόλλα· καὶ αὐτὸν γὰρ εἶναι τὸν εἰσηγητὴν γενόμενον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τοῦ κώμου· ὀδύνην τε αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῇ κύλικι γενέσθαι ὀξεῖαν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ὀδύνῃ
3 ἀπαλλαγῆναι ἐκ τοῦ πότου. Ἤδη δέ τις οὐκ ᾐσχύνθη ἀναγράψαι ὅτι αἰσθόμενος οὐ βιώσιμον ὄντα αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐς τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν ᾔει ἐμβαλῶν, ὡς ἀφανὴς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος πιστοτέραν τὴν δόξαν παρὰ τοῖς ἔπειτα ἐγκαταλείποι ὅτι ἐκ θεοῦ τε αὐτῷ ἡ γένεσις ξυνέβη καὶ παρὰ θεοὺς ἡ ἀποχώρησις. Ῥωξάνην δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα οὐ λαθεῖν ἐξιόντα, ἀλλὰ εἰργόμενον γὰρ

this, after all, being the "better" thing. Beyond this neither Ptolemaeus nor Aristobulus have recorded. Some, however, recorded that his Companions asked him to whom he left his kingdom; and he replied, "to the best"; others relate that he added to this, that he saw that there would be a great funeral contest on his death.

XXVII. I am aware, of course, that there have been many other details recorded of Alexander's death; for instance, that Antipater sent him a drug, and that he died of this drug; and that Aristotle made up this drug for Antipater, already fearing Alexander on account of Callisthenes' death; and that Casander, Antipater's son, brought it. Others have even said that it was conveyed in a mule's hoof, and that Iollas, Casander's younger brother, gave it to Alexander; for that Iollas was the royal cup-bearer, and had some grievance against Alexander not long before his death; others again that Medius had some hand in the business, from an infatuation for Iollas; for it was Medius who suggested to Alexander the drinking-bout; and that Alexander had a sharp feeling of pain after quaffing the cup; and on feeling this he retired from the carouse. One writer has not even shrunk from the statement that Alexander, perceiving that he could not survive, went to throw himself into the Euphrates, so that he might disappear from the world and leave behind the tradition more credible to posterity that his birth was of the gods and that to the gods he passed; but Roxane his wife saw that he was going out, and when

πρὸς αὐτῆς ἐποιμώξαντα εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἐφθόνησεν ἄρα αὐτῷ δόξης τῆς ἐς ἅπαν, ὡς θεῷ δὴ γεγενημένῳ. Καὶ ταῦτα ἐμοὶ ὡς μὴ ἀγνοεῖν δόξαιμι μᾶλλον ὅτι λεγόμενά ἐστιν ἢ ὡς πιστὰ ἐς ἀφήγησιν ἀναγεγράφθω.

XXVIII. Ἐτελεύτα μὲν δὴ Ἀλέξανδρος τῇ τετάρτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ καὶ ἑκατοστῇ Ὀλυμπιάδι ἐπὶ Ἡγησίου ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν· ἐβίω δὲ δύο καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη καὶ τοῦ τρίτου μῆνας ἐπέλαβεν ὀκτώ, ὡς λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος· ἐβασίλευσε δὲ δώδεκα ἔτη καὶ τοὺς ὀκτὼ τούτους μῆνας, τό τε σῶμα κάλλιστος καὶ φιλοπονώτατος καὶ ὀξύτατος τὴν γνώμην γενόμενος καὶ ἀνδρειότατος καὶ φιλοτιμότατος καὶ φιλοκινδυνότατος καὶ τοῦ
2 θείου ἐπιμελέστατος· ἡδονῶν δὲ τῶν μὲν τοῦ σώματος ἐγκρατέστατος, τῶν δὲ τῆς γνώμης ἐπαίνου μόνου ἀπληστότατος· ξυνιδεῖν δὲ τὸ δέον ἔτι ἐν τῷ ἀφανεῖ ὂν δεινότατος, καὶ ἐκ τῶν φαινομένων τὸ εἰκὸς ξυμβαλεῖν ἐπιτυχέστατος, καὶ τάξαι στρατιὰν καὶ ὁπλίσαι τε καὶ κοσμῆσαι δαημονέστατος· καὶ τὸν θυμὸν τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπᾶραι καὶ ἐλπίδων ἀγαθῶν ἐμπλῆσαι καὶ τὸ δεῖμα ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις τῷ ἀδεεῖ τῷ αὐτοῦ ἀφανίσαι, ξύμ-
3 παντα ταῦτα γενναιότατος. Καὶ οὖν καὶ ὅσα ἐν τῷ ἀφανεῖ πρᾶξαι, ξὺν μεγίστῳ θάρσει ἔπραξεν· ὅσα τε φθάσας ὑφαρπάσαι τῶν πολεμίων, πρὶν καὶ δεῖσαί τινα αὐτὰ ὡς ἐσόμενα, προλαβεῖν δεινότατος· καὶ τὰ μὲν ξυντεθέντα ἢ ὁμολογηθέντα φυλάξαι βεβαιότατος, πρὸς δὲ τῶν ἐξαπατώντων μὴ ἁλῶναι ἀσφαλέστατος· χρημάτων δὲ ἐς μὲν ἡδονὰς τὰς αὐτοῦ φειδωλότατος, ἐς δὲ εὐποιίαν τῶν πέλας ἀφθονώτατος.

she prevented him he cried aloud that she then grudged him everlasting fame as having been truly born a god. This must suffice of stories; rather that I may show that I know of them than because they are narratives worthy of belief.

XXVIII. Alexander died in the hundred and fourteenth Olympiad, in the archonship at Athens of Hegesias. He lived thirty-two years and eight months, as Aristobulus says; he reigned twelve years and the aforesaid eight months. In body he was very handsome, a great lover of hardships; of much shrewdness, most courageous, most zealous for honour and danger, and most careful of religion; most temperate in bodily pleasure, but as for pleasures of the mind, insatiable of glory alone; most brilliant to seize on the right course of action, even where all was obscure; and where all was clear, most happy in his conjectures of likelihood; most masterly in marshalling an army, arming and equipping it; and in uplifting his soldiers' spirits and filling them with good hopes, and brushing away anything fearful in dangers by his own want of fear—in all this most noble. And all that had to be done in uncertainty he did with the utmost daring; he was most skilled in swift anticipation and gripping of his enemy before anyone had time to fear the event; he was most reliable in keeping promises or agreement; most guarded in not being trapped by the fraudulent; very sparing of money for his own pleasure, but most generous in benefits of others.

XXIX. Εἰ δέ τι ἐπλημμελήθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δι' ὀξύτητα ἢ ὑπ' ὀργῆς, ἢ εἴ τι ἐς τὸ ὑπερογκότερον προήχθη βαρβαρίσαι, οὐ μεγάλα τίθεμαι ἔγωγε, εἰ τὴν νεότητά τέ τις τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου μὴ ἀνεπιεικῶς ἐνθυμηθείη καὶ τὸ διηνεκὲς τῆς εὐτυχίας καὶ τοὺς πρὸς ἡδονὴν οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ βελτίστῳ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι ξυνόντας τε καὶ ἐπὶ κακῷ ξυνεσομένους· ἀλλὰ μεταγνῶναί γε ἐφ' οἷς ἐπλημμέλησε μόνῳ οἶδα τῶν πάλαι βασιλέων
2 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὑπάρξαι ὑπὸ γενναιότητος. Οἱ δὲ πολλοί, εἰ καί τι ἔγνωσαν πλημμελήσαντες, οἱ δὲ τῷ προηγορεῖν αὐτοῦ, ὡς καλῶς δὴ πραχθέντος, ἐπικρύψειν οἴονται τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, κακῶς γιγνώσκοντες. Μόνη γὰρ ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ ἴασις ἁμαρτίας ὁμολογεῖν τε ἁμαρτόντα καὶ δῆλον εἶναι ἐπ' αὐτῷ μεταγινώσκοντα, ὡς τοῖς παθοῦσί τι ἄχαρι οὐ πάντῃ χαλεπὰ τὰ παθήματα φαινόμενα, εἰ ὁ δράσας αὐτὰ ξυγχωροίη ὅτι οὐ καλὰ ἔδρασεν, αὐτῷ τέ τινι ἐς τὸ μέλλον ταύτην ἐλπίδα ἀγαθὴν ὑπολειπομένην, μή ποτε ἂν παραπλήσιόν τι ἁμαρτεῖν, εἰ τοῖς πρόσθεν πλημμεληθεῖσιν ἀχθό-
3 μενος φαίνοιτο. Ὅτι δὲ ἐς θεὸν τὴν γένεσιν τὴν αὑτοῦ ἀνέφερεν, οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ μέγα εἶναι αὐτῷ τὸ πλημμέλημα, εἰ μὴ καὶ σόφισμα ἦν τυχὸν ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους τοῦ σεμνοῦ ἕνεκα. Οὔκουν δοκεῖ ἔμοιγε ἢ Μίνωος γενέσθαι βασιλεὺς ἀφανέστερος ἢ Αἰακοῦ ἢ Ῥαδαμάνθυος· οἷς δὴ ἐς Δία ἀνενεχθεῖσα ἡ γένεσις πρὸς τῶν πάλαι ἀνθρώπων οὐδεμιᾷ αὐτῶν ὕβρει προστίθεται· οὐδὲ Θησέως τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος οὐδὲ Ἴωνος τοῦ
4 Ἀπόλλωνος. Ὡς ἔμοιγε καὶ ἡ Περσικὴ σκευὴ σόφισμα δοκεῖ εἶναι πρός τε τοὺς βαρβάρους,

XXIX. If, however, Alexander committed any error through haste or in anger, or if he went some distance in the direction of Eastern arrogance, this I do not regard as important; if readers will consider in a spirit of charity Alexander's youth, his unbroken success, and those courtiers who associate with kings to flatter but not to improve them, and who always will so associate with kings to their harm. But I do know that to Alexander alone of the kings of old did repentance for his faults come, by reason of his noble nature; while most people, if they have admitted any error, by defending their misdeed, as if it were a good deed, think that they will conceal their error; and this is a great mistake. For I at least feel that the only cure for sin is a confession of sin and evidence of repentance, since the offended party will not feel the offences so grievous if the offender agrees that he did not well; and for the man himself this good hope is left behind for the future, that he will not so offend again if he appear grieved at the errors of the past. But that he referred his birth to a god, even this I do not altogether think to be a grave fault, if it was not perhaps a mere device to impress his subjects, and to appear more dignified. In point of fact I hold him no less famous a king than Minos, Aeacus, or Radamanthus; they traced their origin back to Zeus, and yet this was not associated by men of old with any arrogance; nor yet Theseus' descent from Poseidon, nor Ion's from Apollo. Moreover, I feel that the adoption of Persian equipage was a device, both

ὡς μὴ πάντη ἀλλότριον αὐτῶν φαίνεσθαι τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Μακεδόνας, ὡς ἀποστροφήν τινα εἶναι αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τῆς ὀξύτητός τε καὶ ὕβρεως τῆς Μακεδονικῆς· ἐφ' ὅτῳ δὴ καὶ ἐγκαταμῖξαί μοι δοκεῖ ταῖς τάξεσιν αὐτῶν τοὺς Πέρσας τοὺς μηλοφόρους καὶ τοῖς ἀγήμασι τοὺς ὁμοτίμους. Καὶ οἱ πότοι δέ, ὡς λέγει Ἀριστόβουλος, οὐ τοῦ οἴνου ἕνεκα μακροὶ αὐτῷ ἐγίγνοντο, οὐ γὰρ πίνειν πολὺν οἶνον Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀλλὰ φιλοφροσύνης τῆς ἐς τοὺς ἑταίρους.

XXX. Ὅστις δὲ κακίζει Ἀλέξανδρον, μὴ μόνον ὅσα ἄξια κακίζεσθαί ἐστι προσφερόμενος κακιζέτω, ἀλλὰ ξύμπαντα Ἀλεξάνδρου εἰς ἓν χωρίον ξυναγαγών, οὕτω δὴ ἐκλογιζέσθω, ὅστις τε ὢν αὐτὸς καὶ ὁποίᾳ τύχῃ κεχρημένος ὅντινα γενόμενον ἐκεῖνον καὶ ἐς ὅσον εὐτυχίας τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἐλθόντα, βασιλέα τε ἀμφοῖν ταῖν ἠπείροιν ἀναμφιλογώτατα γενόμενον καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶν ἐξικόμενον τῷ αὐτοῦ ὀνόματι, κακίζει σμικρότερός γε ὢν αὐτὸς καὶ ἐπὶ σμικροῖς πονούμενος
2 καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἐν κόσμῳ τιθέμενος. Ὡς ἔγωγε δοκῶ ὅτι οὔτε τι ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων οὔτε τις πόλις ἐν τῷ τότε ἦν οὔτε τις εἷς ἄνθρωπος, εἰς ὃν οὐ πεφοιτήκει τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ὄνομα. Οὔκουν οὐδ' ἐμοὶ ἔξω τοῦ θείου φῦναι ἂν δοκεῖ ἀνὴρ οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ ἀνθρώπων ἐοικώς. Καὶ ταῦτα χρησμοί τε ἐπισημῆναι ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου λέγονται καὶ φάσματα ἄλλα ἄλλοις γενόμενα καὶ ἐνύπνια φανέντα ἄλλα ἄλλοις, καὶ ἡ ἐς τοῦτο ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τιμή τε αὐτοῦ καὶ μνήμη οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνη οὖσα, καὶ νῦν δὲ διὰ τοσούτου

towards the Persians, so that their King might not appear wholly removed from them, and towards the Macedonians, to mark some reversion from Macedonian abruptness and arrogance; for the same reason, I suspect, he drafted into their ranks the Persian troops who carried the "golden apples," and the Persian nobles into their cavalry squadrons. And his carousings, as Aristobulus says, were prolonged not for the wine, for Alexander was no winebibber, but from a spirit of comradeship.

XXX. Whosoever speaks evil of Alexander, let him speak such evil, not merely by producing what deserves evil-speaking, but gathering all that Alexander did into a single whole; let such a one consider first himself, his own personality, his own fortunes, and then on the other hand Alexander, what he became, and the height of human prosperity which he reached, having made himself king, beyond all contradiction, of both continents, and having spread his fame over the widest possible span; let such a one, I say, consider of whom he speaks evil; himself being more puny, and busied about puny things, and not even bringing these to success. For I myself believe that there was at that time no race of mankind, no city, no single individual, whither the name of Alexander had not reached. And so not even I can suppose that a man quite beyond all other men was born without some divine influence. Moreover, oracles are said to have prophesied Alexander's death, and visions coming to different persons, and dreams, dreamed by different persons; there was also the general regard of mankind leading to this same conclusion, and the memory of one more than human; and even now there are other oracles, after

ἄλλοι χρησμοὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τιμῇ αὐτοῦ τῷ ἔθνει τῶν
3 Μακεδόνων χρησθέντες. Ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐμεμψάμην ἔστιν ἃ ἐν τῇ ξυγγραφῇ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔργων, ἀλλ' αὐτόν γε Ἀλέξανδρον οὐκ αἰσχύνομαι θαυμάζων· τὰ δὲ ἔργα ἐκεῖνα ἐκάκισα ἀληθείας τε ἕνεκα τῆς ἐμῆς καὶ ἅμα ὠφελείας τῆς ἐς ἀνθρώπους· ἐφ' ὅτῳ ὡρμήθην οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἄνευ θεοῦ ἐς τήνδε τὴν ξυγγραφήν.

Τέλος τῆς ξυγγραφῆς τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔργων.

this great gap of time, which have been delivered to the Macedonian race, and all tending to the highest estimation of him. True it is that I myself have quarrelled with certain acts in my history of Alexander's deeds, but I am bold to admire Alexander himself; and those acts I blamed, both for the sake of my veracity, and also for the general benefit of mankind; and that is why I myself too took up this history, not without the help of God.

[End of the HISTORY OF ALEXANDER.]

BOOK VIII

ΑΡΡΙΑΝΟΥ

ΙΝΔΙΚΗ

I. Τὰ ἔξω Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ τὰ πρὸς ἑσπέρην
ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν Κωφῆνα Ἀστακηνοὶ καὶ
2 Ἀσσακηνοί, ἔθνεα Ἰνδικά, ἐποικέουσιν. Ἀλλ'
οὔτε μεγάλοι τὰ σώματα, κατάπερ οἱ ἐντὸς τοῦ
Ἰνδοῦ ᾠκισμένοι, οὔτε ἀγαθοὶ ὡσαύτως τὸν θυμόν,
οὐδὲ μέλανες ὡσαύτως τοῖσι πολλοῖσιν Ἰνδοῖσιν.
3 Οὗτοι πάλαι μὲν Ἀσσυρίοισιν ὑπήκοοι ἦσαν·
ἐπὶ δὲ Μήδοισι Περσέων ἤκουον, καὶ φόρους
ἀπέφερον Κύρῳ τῷ Καμβύσεω ἐκ τῆς γῆς σφῶν,
4 οὓς ἔταξε Κῦρος. Νυσαῖοι δὲ οὐκ Ἰνδικὸν γένος
ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἅμα Διονύσῳ ἐλθόντων ἐς τὴν
γῆν τῶν Ἰνδῶν· τυχὸν μὲν καὶ Ἑλλήνων, ὅσοι
ἀπόμαχοι αὐτῶν ἐγένοντο ἐν τοῖσι πολέμοισιν
οὕστινας πρὸς Ἰνδοὺς Διόνυσος ἐπολέμησε·
5 τυχὸν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τοὺς ἐθέλοντας
τοῖσιν Ἕλλησι συνῴκισε τήν τε χώρην Νυσαίην
ὠνόμασεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρεος τῆς Νύσης Διόνυσος,
6 καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν Νῦσαν. Καὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸ
πρὸς τῇ πόλι, ὅτου ἐν τῇσιν ὑπωρείῃσιν ᾤκισται
ἡ Νῦσα, Μηρὸς κληΐζεται ἐπὶ τῇ συμφορῇ ᾗτινι
7 ἐχρήσατο εὐθὺς γενόμενος· Ταῦτα μὲν οἱ ποιη-
ταὶ ἐπὶ Διονύσῳ ἐποίησαν· καὶ ἐξηγείσθων αὐτὰ
8 ὅσοι λόγιοι Ἑλλήνων ἢ βαρβάρων. Ἐν Ἀσ-
σακηνοῖσι δὲ Μάσσακα, πόλις μεγάλη, ἵναπερ
καὶ τὸ κράτος τῆς γῆς ἐστι τῆς Ἀσσακίης· καὶ

BOOK VIII

INDICA

I. All the territory that lies west of the river Indus up to the river Cophen is inhabited by Astacenians and Assacenians, Indian tribes. But they are not, like the Indians dwelling within the river Indus, tall of stature, nor similarly brave in spirit, nor as black as the greater part of the Indians. These long ago were subject to the Assyrians; then to the Medes, and so they became subject to the Persians; and they paid tribute to Cyrus son of Cambyses from their territory, as Cyrus commanded. The Nysaeans are not an Indian race; but part of those who came with Dionysus to India; possibly even of those Greeks who became past service in the wars which Dionysus waged with Indians; possibly also volunteers of the neighbouring tribes whom Dionysus settled there together with the Greeks, calling the country Nysaea from the mountain Nysa, and the city itself Nysa. And the mountain near the city, on whose foothills Nysa is built, is called Merus[1] because of the incident at Dionysus' birth. All this the poets sang about Dionysus; and I leave it to the narrators of Greek or Eastern history to recount them. Among the Assacenians is Massaca, a great city, where resides the chief authority of the Assacian

[1] A thigh.

ἄλλη πόλις Πευκέλα, μεγάλη καὶ αὐτή, οὐ μακρὰν τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ. Ταῦτα μὲν ἔξω τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ ᾤκισται πρὸς ἑσπέρην ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸν Κωφῆνα.

II. Τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ πρὸς ἕω, τοῦτό μοι ἔστω
ἡ τῶν Ἰνδῶν γῆ, καὶ Ἰνδοὶ οὗτοι ἔστωσαν.
Ὅροι δὲ τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς πρὸς μὲν βορέεω ἀνέμου
2 ὁ Ταῦρος τὸ ὄρος. Καλέεται δὲ οὐ Ταῦρος ἔτι
ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ· ἀλλ' ἄρχεται ὁ Ταῦρος ἀπὸ
θαλάσσης τῆς κατὰ Παμφύλους τε καὶ Λυκίην
καὶ Κίλικας· παρατείνει τε ἔστε τὴν πρὸς ἕω
3 θάλασσαν, τέμνων τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν· ἄλλῃ δὲ
ἄλλο καλέεται τὸ ὄρος, τῇ μὲν Παραπάμισος, τῇ
δὲ Ἠμωδός· ἄλλῃ δὲ Ἴμαον κληΐζεται, καὶ τυχὸν
4 ἄλλα καὶ ἄλλα ἔχει οὐνόματα· Μακεδόνες δὲ οἱ
ξὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ στρατεύσαντες Καύκασον αὐτὸ
ἐκάλεον· ἄλλον τοῦτον Καύκασον, οὐ τὸν Σκυ-
θικόν· ὡς καὶ τὰ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ Καυκάσου λόγον
5 κατέχειν ὅτι ἦλθεν Ἀλέξανδρος. Τὰ πρὸς
ἑσπέρην δὲ τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς ὁ ποταμὸς ὁ Ἰνδὸς
ἀπείργει ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν, ἵναπερ
αὐτὸς κατὰ δύο στόματα ἐκδιδοῖ, οὐ συνεχέα
ἀλλήλοισι τὰ στόματα, κατάπερ τὰ πέντε τοῦ
6 Ἴστρου ἐστὶ συνεχέα· ἀλλ' ὡς τὰ τοῦ Νείλου,
ὑπὸ τῶν τὸ Δέλτα ποιέεται τὸ Αἰγύπτιον, ὧδέ
τι καὶ [τὸ][1] τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς Δέλτα ποιέει ὁ Ἰνδὸς
ποταμός, οὐ μεῖον τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου· καὶ τοῦτο
7 Πάτταλα τῇ Ἰνδῶν γλώσσῃ καλέεται. Τὸ δὲ
πρὸς νότου γε ἀνέμου καὶ μεσημβρίης αὐτὴ ἡ
μεγάλη θάλασσα ἀπείργει τὴν Ἰνδῶν γῆν, καὶ

[1] τὸ added by Dübner.

land; and another city Peucela, this also a great city, not far from the Indus. These places then are inhabited on this side of the Indus towards the west, as far as the river Cophen.

II. But the parts from the Indus eastward, these I shall call India, and its inhabitants Indians. The boundary of the land of India towards the north is Mount Taurus. It is not still called Taurus in this land; but Taurus begins from the sea over against Pamphylia and Lycia and Cilicia; and reaches as far as the Eastern Ocean, running right across Asia. But the mountain has different names in different places; in one, Parapamisus, in another Emodus; elsewhere it is called Imaon, and perhaps has all sorts of other names; but the Macedonians who fought with Alexander called it Caucasus; another Caucasus, that is, not the Scythian; so that the story ran that Alexander came even to the far side of the Caucasus. The western part of India is bounded by the river Indus right down to the ocean, where the river runs out by two mouths, not joined together as are the five mouths of the Ister; but like those of the Nile, by which the Egyptian delta is formed; thus also the Indian delta is formed by the river Indus, not less than the Egyptian; and this in the Indian tongue is called Pattala.[1] Towards the south this ocean bounds the land of India, and eastward the sea itself

[1] The Sanskrit for "leaf" is Patala.

8 τὰ πρὸς ἕω αὐτὴ ἡ θάλασσα ἀπείργει. Τὰ μὲν πρὸς μεσημβρίης κατὰ Πάτταλά τε καὶ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ τὰς ἐκβολὰς ὤφθη πρός τε Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Μακεδόνων καὶ πολλῶν Ἑλλήνων· τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἕω, Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν οὐκ ἐπῆλθε τάδε πρόσω
9 ποταμοῦ Ὑφάσιος. Ὀλίγοι δὲ ἀνέγραψαν τὰ μέχρι ποταμοῦ Γάγγεω καὶ ἵνα τοῦ Γάγγεω αἱ ἐκβολαὶ καὶ πόλις Παλίμβοθρα μεγίστη Ἰνδῶν πρὸς τῷ Γάγγῃ.

III. Ἐμοὶ δὲ Ἐρατοσθένης ὁ Κυρηναῖος πιστότερος ἄλλου ἔστω, ὅτι γῆς περιόδου πέρι ἔμελεν
2 Ἐρατοσθένει. Οὗτος ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρεος τοῦ Ταύρου, ἵνα τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ αἱ πηγαί, παρ' αὐτὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν ἰόντι ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν καὶ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ τὰς ἐκβολὰς μυρίους σταδίους καὶ τρισχιλίους τὴν πλευρὴν λέγει ἐπέχειν τῆς γῆς
3 τῆς Ἰνδῶν. Ταυτησὶ δὲ ἀντίπορον πλευρὴν ποιέει τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὄρεος παρὰ τὴν ἑῴην θάλασσαν, οὐκέτι ταύτῃ τῇ πλευρῇ ἴσην, ἀλλὰ ἄκρην γὰρ ἀνέχειν ἐπὶ μέγα εἴσω εἰς τὸ πέλαγος, ἐς τρισχιλίους σταδίους μάλιστα ἀνατείνουσαν τὴν ἄκρην· εἴη ἂν ὦν αὐτῷ ἡ πλευρὴ τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς πρὸς ἕω μυρίους καὶ ἑξακισχιλίους σταδίους ἐπέχουσα· τοῦτο μὲν αὐτῷ πλάτος τῆς Ἰνδῶν
4 γῆς συμβαίνει. Μῆκος δὲ τὸ ἀφ' ἑσπέρης ἐπὶ ἕω ἔστε μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν Παλίμβοθρα, μεμετρημένον σχοίνοισι λέγει ἀναγράφειν· καὶ εἶναι γὰρ ὁδὸν βασιληΐην· τοῦτο ἐπέχειν ἐς μυρίους σταδίους· τὰ δὲ ἐπέκεινα οὐκέτι ὡσαύτως ἀτρεκέα.
5 Φήμας δὲ ὅσοι ἀνέγραψαν, ξὺν τῇ ἄκρῃ τῇ ἀνεχούσῃ ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἐς μυρίους σταδίους

is the boundary. The southern part near Pattala and the mouths of the Indus were surveyed by Alexander and Macedonians and many Greeks; as for the eastern part, Alexander did not traverse this beyond the river Hyphasis. A few historians have described the parts which are this side of the Ganges and where are the mouths of the Ganges and the city of Palimbothra, the greatest Indian city on the Ganges.

III. I hope I may be allowed to regard Eratosthenes of Cyrene as worthy of special credit, since he was a student of Geography. He states that beginning with Mount Taurus, where are the springs of the river Indus, along the Indus to the Ocean, and to the mouths of the Indus, the side of India is thirteen thousand stades in length. The opposite side to this one, that from the same mountain to the Eastern Ocean, he does not reckon as merely equal to the former side, since it has a promontory running well into the sea; the promontory stretching to about three thousand stades. So then he would make this side of India, to the eastward, a total length of sixteen thousand stades. This he gives, then, as the breadth of India. Its length, however, from west to east, up to the city of Palimbothra, he states that he gives as measured by reed-measurements; for there is a royal road; and this extends to ten thousand stades; beyond that, the information is not so certain. Those, however, who have followed common talk say that including the promontory, which

μάλιστα ἐπέχειν λέγουσιν· εἶναι δὲ ἄνω[1] τὸ
μῆκος τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς, σταδίων μάλιστα δισμυ-
6 ρίων. Κτησίης δὲ ὁ Κνίδιος τὴν Ἰνδῶν γῆν ἴσην
τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἀσίῃ λέγει, οὐδὲν λέγων, οὐδὲ Ὀνη-
σίκριτος, τρίτην μοῖραν τῆς πάσης γῆς· Νέαρ-
χος δὲ μηνῶν τεσσάρων ὁδὸν τὴν δι' αὐτοῦ τοῦ
7 πεδίου τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς. Μεγασθένεϊ δὲ τὸ ἀπὸ
ἀνατολέων ἐς ἑσπέρην πλάτος ἐστὶ τῆς Ἰνδῶν
γῆς, ὅ τι περ οἱ ἄλλοι μῆκος ποιέουσι· καὶ λέγει
Μεγασθένης, μυρίων καὶ ἑξακισχιλίων σταδίων
8 εἶναι, ἵναπερ τὸ βραχύτατον αὐτοῦ. Τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ
ἄρκτου πρὸς μεσημβρίην, τοῦτο δὲ αὐτῷ μῆκος
γίνεται, καὶ ἐπέχει τριηκοσίους καὶ δισχιλίους
καὶ δισμυρίους, ἵναπερ τὸ στεινότατον αὐτοῦ.
9 Ποταμοὶ δὲ τοσοίδε εἰσὶν ἐν τῇ Ἰνδῶν γῇ, ὅσοι
οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ πάσῃ Ἀσίῃ· μέγιστοι μὲν ὁ Γάγγης
τε καὶ ὁ Ἰνδός, ὅτου καὶ ἡ γῆ ἐπώνυμος· ἄμφω
τοῦ τε Νείλου τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου καὶ τοῦ Ἴστρου
τοῦ Σκυθικοῦ, καὶ εἰ ἐς ταυτὸ συνέλθοι αὐτοῖσι
10 τὸ ὕδωρ, μέζονες· δοκέειν δ' ἔμοιγε, καὶ ὁ Ἀκε-
σίνης μέζων ἐστὶ τοῦ τε Ἴστρου καὶ τοῦ Νείλου,
ἵναπερ παραλαβὼν ἅμα τόν τε Ὑδάσπεα καὶ τὸν
Ὑδραώτεα καὶ τὸν Ὕφασιν ἐμβάλλει ἐς τὸν
Ἰνδόν, ὡς καὶ τριήκοντα αὐτῷ στάδια τὸ πλάτος
ταύτῃ εἶναι· καὶ τυχὸν καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ μέζονες
ποταμοὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰνδῶν γῇ ῥέουσιν.

IV. Ἀλλὰ οὔ μοι ἀτρεκὲς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπέκεινα
Ὑφάσιος ποταμοῦ ἰσχυρίσασθαι, ὅτι οὐ πρόσω
2 τοῦ Ὑφάσιος ἦλθεν Ἀλέξανδρος. Αὐτοῖν δὲ τοῖν
μεγίστοιν ποταμοῖν τοῦ τε Γάγγεω καὶ τοῦ
Ἰνδοῦ τὸν Γάγγεα μεγέθεϊ πολύ τι ὑπερφέρειν

[1] Chantraine well suggests εἶναι δ' ἂν ὦν (= οὖν).

runs into the sea, India extends over about ten thousand stades; but farther north its length is about twenty thousand stades. But Ctesias of Cnidus affirms that the land of India is equal in size to the rest of Asia, which is absurd; and Onesicritus is absurd, who says that India is a third of the entire world; Nearchus, for his part, states that the journey through the actual plain of India is a four months' journey. Megasthenes would have the breadth of India that from east to west, which others call its length; and he says that it is of sixteen thousand stades, at its shortest stretch. From north to south, then, becomes for him its length, and it extends twenty-two thousand three hundred stades, to its narrowest point. The Indian rivers are greater than any others in Asia; greatest are the Ganges and the Indus, whence the land gets its name; each of these is greater than the Nile of Egypt and the Scythian Ister, even were these put together; my own idea is that even the Acesines is greater than the Ister and the Nile, where the Acesines having taken in the Hydaspes, Hydraotes, and Hyphasis, runs into the Indus, so that its breadth there becomes thirty stades. Possibly also other greater rivers run through the land of India.

IV. As for the yonder side of the Hyphasis, I cannot speak with confidence, since Alexander did not proceed beyond the Hyphasis. But of these two greatest rivers, the Ganges and the Indus, Megasthenes wrote that the Ganges is much greater than

Μεγασθένης ἀνέγραψε, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι μνήμην
3 τοῦ Γάγγεω ἔχουσιν· αὐτόν τε γὰρ μέγαν ἀνίσ-
χειν ἐκ τῶν πηγέων, δέκεσθαί τε ἐς αὐτὸν τόν τε
Καινὰν ποταμὸν καὶ τὸν Ἐραννοβόαν καὶ τὸν
Κοσσόανον, πάντας πλωτούς· ἔτι δὲ Σῶνόν τε
ποταμὸν καὶ Σιττόκατιν καὶ Σολόματιν, καὶ
4 τούτους πλωτούς. Ἐπὶ δὲ Κονδοχάτην τε καὶ
Σάμβον καὶ Μάγωνα καὶ Ἀγόρανιν καὶ Ὤμαλιν·
ἐμβάλλουσι δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν Κομμενάσης τε μέγας
ποταμὸς καὶ Κάκουθις καὶ Ἀνδώματις ἐξ ἔθνεος
5 Ἰνδικοῦ τοῦ Μανδιαδινῶν ῥέων· καὶ ἐπὶ τού-
τοισιν Ἄμυστις παρὰ πόλιν Καταδούπην, καὶ
Ὀξύμαγις ἐπὶ Παζάλαισι καλεομένοισι, καὶ
Ἐρρέννυσις ἐν Μάθαισιν,[1] ἔθνεϊ Ἰνδικῷ, ξυμβάλ-
6 λει τῷ Γάγγῃ. Τούτων λέγει Μεγασθένης
οὐδένα εἶναι τοῦ Μαιάνδρου ἀποδέοντα, ἵναπερ
7 ναυσίπορος ὁ Μαίανδρος. Εἶναι ὦν τὸ εὖρος τῷ
Γάγγῃ, ἔνθα περ αὐτὸς ἑωυτοῦ στεινότατος, ἐς
ἑκατὸν σταδίους· πολλαχῇ δὲ καὶ λιμνάζειν, ὡς
μὴ ἄποπτον εἶναι τὴν πέρην χώρην, ἵναπερ
χθαμαλή τέ ἐστι καὶ οὐδαμῇ γηλόφοισιν ἀνε-
8 στηκυῖα. Τῷ δὲ Ἰνδῷ ἐς ταὐτὸν ἔρχεται.
Ὑδραώτης μὲν ἐν Καμβισθόλοισι παρειληφὼς
τόν τε Ὕφασιν ἐν Ἀστρύβαισι καὶ τὸν Σαράγ-
γην ἐκ Κηκέων καὶ τὸν Νεῦδρον ἐξ Ἀττακηνῶν,
9 ἐς Ἀκεσίνην ἐμβάλλουσιν. Ὑδάσπης δὲ ἐν
Ὀξυδράκαισιν ἄγων ἅμα οἷ τὸν Σίναρον ἐν
Ἀρίσπαισιν ἐς τὸν Ἀκεσίνην ἐκδιδοῖ καὶ οὗτος.
10 Ὁ δὲ Ἀκεσίνης ἐν Μαλλοῖς ξυμβάλλει τῷ Ἰνδῷ·
καὶ Τούταπος δὲ μέγας ποταμὸς ἐς τὸν Ἀκεσίνην

[1] These Μάθαι are unknown. Renou suggests Κάθαις (*Anab.* V. xxii 2).

the Indus, and so do all others who mention the Ganges; for (they say) the Ganges is already large as it comes from its springs, and receives as tributaries the river Cainas and the Erannoboas and the Cossoanus, all navigable; also the river Sonus and the Sittocatis and the Solomatis, these likewise navigable. Then besides there are the Condochates and the Sambus and Magon and Agoranis and Omalis; and also there run into it the Commenases, a great river, and the Cacuthis and Andomatis, flowing from the Indian tribe of the Mandiadinae; after them the Amystis by the city Catadupas, and the Oxymagis at the place called Pazalae, and the Errenysis among the Mathae, an Indian tribe, also meet the Ganges. Megasthenes says that of these none is inferior to the Maeander, where the Maeander is navigable. The breath therefore of the Ganges, where it is at its narrowest, runs to a hundred stades; often it spreads into lakes, so that the opposite side cannot be seen, where it is low and has no projections of hills. It is the same with the Indus; the Hydraotes, in the territory of the Cambistholians, receives the Hyphasis in that of the Astrybae, and the Saranges from the Cecians, and the Neydrus from the Attacenians, and flows, with these, into the Acesines. The Hydaspes also among the Oxydracae receives the Sinarus among the Arispae and it too flows out into the Acesines. The Acesines among the Mallians joins the Indus; and the Tutapus, a large river,

ἐκδιδοῖ. Τούτων ὁ Ἀκεσίνης ἐμπλησθεὶς καὶ τῇ ἐπικλήσι ἐκνικήσας αὐτὸς τῷ ἑωυτοῦ ἤδη
11 οὐνόματι ἐσβάλλει ἐς τὸν Ἰνδόν· Κωφὴν δὲ ἐν Πευκελαιήτιδι, ἅμα οἷ ἄγων Μάλαντόν τε καὶ Σόαστον καὶ Γαρροίαν, ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς τὸν Ἰνδόν.
12 Κατύπερθε δὲ τούτων Πάρενος καὶ Σάπαρνος, οὐ πολὺ διέχοντες, ἐμβάλλουσιν ἐς τὸν Ἰνδόν. Σόανος δέ, ἐκ τῆς ὀρεινῆς τῆς Ἀβισσαρέων, ἔρημος ἄλλου ποταμοῦ, ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς αὐτόν. Καὶ τούτων τοὺς πολλοὺς Μεγασθένης λέγει, ὅτι
13 πλωτοί εἰσιν. Οὔκουν ἀπιστίην χρὴ ἔχειν ὑπέρ τε τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ καὶ τοῦ Γάγγεω, μηδὲ συμβλητοὺς εἶναι αὐτοῖσι τόν τε Ἴστρον καὶ τοῦ Νείλου τὸ
14 ὕδωρ. Ἐς μέν γε τὸν Νεῖλον οὐδένα ποταμὸν ἐκδιδόντα ἴδμεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ διώρυχας τετ-
15 μημένας κατὰ τὴν χώρην τὴν Αἰγυπτίην. Ὁ δέ γε Ἴστρος ὀλίγος μὲν ἀνίσχει ἀπὸ τῶν πηγέων, δέκεται δὲ πολλοὺς ποταμούς, ἀλλ᾽ οὔτε πλήθεϊ ἴσους τοῖσιν Ἰνδῶν ποταμοῖσιν, οἳ ἐς τὸν Ἰνδὸν καὶ τὸν Γάγγεα ἐκδιδοῦσι· πλωτοὺς δὲ δὴ καὶ κάρτα ὀλίγους, ὧν τοὺς μὲν αὐτὸς ἰδὼν οἶδα, τὸν
16 Ἔνον τε καὶ τὸν Σάον. Ἔνος μὲν ἐν μεθορίῳ τῆς Νωρικῶν καὶ Ῥαιτῶν γῆς μίγνυται τῷ Ἴστρῳ, ὁ δὲ Σάος κατὰ Παίονας. Ὁ δὲ χῶρος, ἵναπερ συμβάλλουσιν οἱ ποταμοί, Ταυροῦνος καλέεται. Ὅστις δὲ καὶ ἄλλον οἶδε ναυσίπορον τῶν ἐς τὸν Ἴστρον ἐκδιδόντων, ἀλλὰ οὐ πολλούς που οἶδε.

V. Τὸ δὲ αἴτιον ὅστις ἐθέλει φράζειν τοῦ πλήθεός τε καὶ μεγέθεος τῶν Ἰνδῶν ποταμῶν, φραζέτω· ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὡς ἀκοὴ ἀναγεγράφθω.
2 Ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν ποταμῶν οὐνόματα

flows into the Acesines. All these rivers swell the Acesines, and proudly retaining its own name it flows into the Indus. The Cophen, in the Peucelaetis, taking with it the Malantus, the Soastus, and the Garroeas, joins the Indus. Above these the Parenus and Saparnus, not far from one another, flow into the Indus. The Soanus, from the mountains of the Abissareans, without any tributary, flows into it. Most of these Megasthenes reports to be navigable. It should not then be incredible that neither Nile nor Ister can be even compared with Indus or Ganges in volume of water. For we know of no tributary to the Nile; rather from it canals have been cut through the land of Egypt. As for the Ister, it emerges from its springs a meagre stream, but receives many tributaries; yet not equal in number to the Indian tributaries which flow into Indus or Ganges; and very few of these are navigable; I myself have only noticed the Enus and the Saus. The Enus on the line between Norica and Rhaetia joins the Ister, the Saus in Paeonia. The country where the rivers join is called Taurunus. If anybody is aware of other navigable rivers which form tributaries to the Ister, he certainly does not know many.

V. I hope that anyone who desires to explain the cause of the number and size of the Indian rivers will do so; and that my remarks may be regarded as set down on hearsay only. For Megasthenes has

Μεγασθένης ἀνέγραψεν, οἳ ἔξω τοῦ Γάγγεώ τε
καὶ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἐκδιδοῦσιν ἐς τὸν ἑῷόν τε καὶ
μεσημβρινὸν τὸν ἔξω πόντον· ὥστε τοὺς πάντας
ὀκτὼ καὶ πεντήκοντα λέγει ὅτι εἰσὶν Ἰνδοὶ
3 ποταμοί, ναυσίποροι πάντες. Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Μεγασ-
θένης πολλὴν δοκέει μοι ἐπελθεῖν τῆς Ἰνδῶν
χώρης, πλήν γε ὅτι πλεῦνα ἢ οἱ ξὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ
τῷ Φιλίππου ἐπελθόντες. Συγγενέσθαι γὰρ
Σανδρακόττῳ λέγει, τῷ μεγίστῳ βασιλέϊ τῶν
4 Ἰνδῶν, καὶ Πώρῳ, ἔτι τούτου μέζονι. Οὗτος ὦν
ὁ Μεγασθένης λέγει, οὔτε Ἰνδοὺς ἐπιστρατεῦσαι
οὐδαμοῖσιν ἀνθρώποισιν, οὔτε Ἰνδοῖσιν ἄλλους
5 ἀνθρώπους· ἀλλὰ Σέσωστριν μὲν τὸν Αἰγύπτιον,
τῆς Ἀσίης καταστρεψάμενον τὴν πολλήν, ἔστε
ἐπὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην σὺν στρατιῇ ἐλάσαντα, ὀπίσω
6 ἀπονοστῆσαι· Ἰνδάθυρσιν δὲ τὸν Σκύθεα ἐκ
Σκυθίης ὁρμηθέντα πολλὰ μὲν τῆς Ἀσίης ἔθνεα
καταστρέψασθαι, ἐπελθεῖν δὲ καὶ τὴν Αἰγυπτίων
7 γῆν κρατέοντα· Σεμίραμιν δὲ τὴν Ἀσσυρίην
ἐπιχειρέειν μὲν στέλλεσθαι ἐς Ἰνδούς, ἀποθανεῖν
δὲ πρὶν τέλος ἐπιθεῖναι τοῖσι βουλεύμασιν·
ἀλλὰ Ἀλέξανδρον γὰρ στρατεῦσαι ἐπὶ Ἰνδοὺς
8 μοῦνον. Καὶ πρὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου Διονύσου μὲν
πέρι πολλὸς λόγος κατέχει, ὡς καὶ τούτου
στρατεύσαντος ἐς Ἰνδούς, καὶ καταστρεψαμένου
9 Ἰνδούς· Ἡρακλέος δὲ πέρι οὐ πολλός. Διονύσου
μέν γε καὶ Νῦσα πόλις μνῆμα οὐ φαῦλον τῆς
στρατηλασίης καὶ ὁ Μηρὸς τὸ ὄρος, καὶ ὁ κισσὸς
ὅτι ἐν τῷ ὄρεϊ τούτῳ φύεται· καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ Ἰνδοὶ
ὑπὸ τυμπάνων τε καὶ κυμβάλων στελλόμενοι ἐς
τὰς μάχας· καὶ ἐσθὴς αὐτοῖσι κατάστικτος ἐοῦσα,
10 καθάπερ τοῦ Διονύσου τοῖσι βάκχοισιν· Ἡρα-

recorded names of many other rivers, which beyond the Ganges and the Indus run into the eastern and southern outer ocean; so that he states the number of Indian rivers in all to be fifty-eight, and these all navigable. But not even Megasthenes, so far as I can see, travelled over any large part of India; yet a good deal more than the followers of Alexander son of Philip did. For he states that he met Sandracottus, the greatest of the Indian kings, and Porus, even greater than he was. This Megasthenes says, moreover, that the Indians waged war on no men, nor other men on the Indians, but on the other hand that Sesostris the Egyptian, after subduing the most part of Asia, and after invading Europe with an army, yet returned back; and Indathyrsis the Scythian who started from Scythia subdued many tribes of Asia, and invaded Egypt victoriously; but Semiramis the Assyrian queen tried to invade India, but died before she could carry out her purposes; it was in fact Alexander only who actually invaded India. Before Alexander, too, there is a considerable tradition about Dionysus as having also invaded India, and having subdued the Indians; about Heracles there is not much tradition. As for Dionysus, the city of Nysa is no mean memorial of his expedition, and also Mount Merus, and the growth of ivy on this mountain; then the habit of the Indians themselves setting out to battle with the sound of drums and cymbals; and their dappled costume, like that worn by the bacchanals of Dionysus. But of

κλέος δὲ οὐ πολλὰ ὑπομνήματα. Ἀλλὰ τὴν Ἄορνον γὰρ πέτρην, ἥντινα Ἀλέξανδρος βίῃ ἐχειρώσατο, ὅτι Ἡρακλέης οὐ δυνατὸς ἐγένετο ἐξελεῖν, Μακεδονικὸν δοκέει μοί τι κόμπασμα, κατάπερ ὦν καὶ τὸν Παραπάμισον Καύκασον ἐκάλεον Μακεδόνες, οὐδέν τι προσήκοντα τοῦτον
11 τῷ Καυκάσῳ. Καί τι καὶ ἄντρον ἐπιφρασθέντες ἐν Παραπαμισάδαισι, τοῦτο ἔφρασαν ἐκεῖνο εἶναι τοῦ Προμηθέος τοῦ Τιτῆνος τὸ ἄντρον, ἐν ὅτῳ
12 ἐκρέματο ἐπὶ τῇ κλοπῇ τοῦ πυρός. Καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν Σίβαισιν, Ἰνδικῷ γένεϊ, ὅτι δορὰς ἀμπεχομένους εἶδον τοὺς Σίβας, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἡρακλέος στρατηλασίης ἔφασκον τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας εἶναι τοὺς Σίβας· καὶ γὰρ καὶ σκυτάλην φορέουσί τε οἱ Σίβαι, καὶ τοῖσι βουσὶν αὐτῶν ῥόπαλον ἐπικέκαυται· καὶ τοῦτο ἐς μνήμην ἀνέφερον τοῦ ῥοπά-
13 λου τοῦ Ἡρακλέος. Εἰ δέ τῳ πιστὰ ταῦτα, ἄλλος ἂν οὗτος Ἡρακλέης εἴη, οὐχ ὁ Θηβαῖος, ἢ ὁ Τύριος οὗτος, ἢ ὁ Αἰγύπτιος, ἤ τις καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἄνω χώρην οὐ πόρρω τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς ᾠκισμένην μέγας βασιλεύς.

VI. Ταῦτα μέν μοι ἐκβολὴ ἔστω τοῦ λόγου εἰς τὸ μὴ πιστὰ φαίνεσθαι ὅσα ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπέκεινα τοῦ Ὑφάσιος ποταμοῦ Ἰνδῶν μετεξέτεροι ἀνέγραψαν· ἔστε γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸν Ὕφασιν οἱ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατηλασίης μετασχόντες οὐ
2 πάντῃ ἄπιστοί εἰσιν. Ἐπεὶ καὶ τόδε λέγει Μεγασθένης ὑπὲρ ποταμοῦ Ἰνδικοῦ, Σίλαν μὲν εἶναί οἱ οὔνομα, ῥέειν δὲ ἀπὸ κρήνης ἐπωνύμου τῷ ποταμῷ διὰ τῆς χώρης τῆς Σιλέων, καὶ τούτων ἐπωνύμων τοῦ ποταμοῦ τε καὶ τῆς κρήνης·
3 τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ παρέχεσθαι τοιόνδε· οὐδὲν εἶναι ὅτῳ

Heracles the memorials are slight. Yet the story of the rock Aornos,[1] which Alexander forced, namely, that Heracles could not capture it, I am inclined to think a Macedonian boast; just as the Macedonians called Parapamisus by the name of Caucasus, though it has nothing to do with Caucasus. And besides, learning that there was a cave among the Parapamisadae, they said that this was the cave of Prometheus the Titan, in which he was crucified for his theft of the fire. Among the Sibae, too, an Indian tribe, having noticed them clad with skins they used to assert that they were relics of Heracles' expedition. What is more, as the Sibae carried a club, and they brand their cattle with a club, they referred this too to some memory of Heracles' club. If anyone believes this, at least it must be some other Heracles, not he of Thebes, but either of Tyre or of Egypt, or some great king of the higher inhabited country near India.

VI. This then must be regarded as a digression, so that too much credence may not be given to the stories which certain persons have related about the Indians beyond the Hyphasis; for those who served under Alexander are reasonably trustworthy up to the Hyphasis. For Megasthenes tells us this also about an Indian river; its name is Silas, it flows from a spring of the same name as the river through the territory of the Sileans, the people also named both from river and spring; its water has the following peculiarity; nothing is supported by it, nothing

[1] See *Anabasis* IV. xxviii. and xxix.

ἀντέχει τὸ ὕδωρ, οὔτε τι νήχεσθαι ἐπ' αὐτοῦ οὔτε
τι ἐπιπλέειν, ἀλλὰ πάντα γὰρ ἐς βυσσὸν δύνειν·
οὕτω τι ἀμενηνότερον πάντων εἶναι τὸ ὕδωρ
4 ἐκεῖνο καὶ ἠεροειδέστερον. Ὕεται δὲ ἡ Ἰνδῶν
γῆ τὸ θέρος, μάλιστα μὲν τὰ ὄρεα, Παραπάμισός
τε καὶ ὁ Ἠμωδὸς καὶ τὸ Ἰμαϊκὸν ὄρος, καὶ ἀπὸ
τούτων μεγάλοι καὶ θολεροὶ οἱ ποταμοὶ ῥέουσιν.
5 Ὕεται δὲ τοῦ θέρεος καὶ τὰ πεδία τῶν Ἰνδῶν,
ὥστε λιμνάζειν τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν· καὶ ἔφυγεν ἡ
Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατιὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου ποταμοῦ
μέσου θέρεος, ὑπερβαλόντος τοῦ ὕδατος ἐς τὰ
6 πεδία· ὥστε ἀπὸ τῶνδε ἔξεστι τεκμηριοῦσθαι
καὶ τοῦ Νείλου τὸ πάθημα τοῦτο ὅτι ἐοικὸς εἶναι
ὕεσθαι τὰ Αἰθιόπων ὄρεα τοῦ θέρεος, καὶ ἀπ'
ἐκείνων ἐμπιπλάμενον τὸν Νεῖλον ὑπερβάλλειν
ὑπὲρ τὰς ὄχθας ἐς τὴν γῆν τὴν Αἰγυπτίην·
7 θολερὸς ὢν καὶ οὗτος ῥέει ἐν τῇδε τῇ ὥρῃ, ὡς
οὔτε ἂν ἀπὸ χιόνος τηκομένης ἔρρεεν, οὔτε εἰ
πρὸς τῶν ὥρῃ θέρεος πνεόντων ἐτησίων ἀνέμων
ἀνεκόπτετό οἱ τὸ ὕδωρ· ἄλλως τε οὐδὲ χιονόβατα
8 εἴη ἂν τὰ Αἰθιόπων ὄρεα ὑπὸ καύματος. Ὕεσθαι
δὲ κατάπερ τὰ Ἰνδῶν οὐκ ἔξω ἐστὶ τοῦ εἰκότος,
ἐπεὶ καὶ τἄλλα ἡ Ἰνδῶν γῆ οὐκ ἀπέοικε τῆς
Αἰθιοπίης, καὶ οἱ ποταμοὶ οἱ Ἰνδοὶ ὁμοίως τῷ
Νείλῳ τῷ Αἰθιοπείῳ τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίῳ κροκο-
δείλους τε φέρουσιν, ἔστιν δὲ οἳ αὐτῶν καὶ
ἰχθύας καὶ ἄλλα κήτεα ὅσα ὁ Νεῖλος, πλὴν
ἵππου τοῦ ποταμίου· Ὀνησίκριτος δὲ καὶ τοὺς
9 ἵππους τοὺς ποταμίους λέγει ὅτι φέρουσι. Τῶν
τε ἀνθρώπων αἱ ἰδέαι οὐ πάντῃ ἀπᾴδουσιν αἱ
Ἰνδῶν τε καὶ Αἰθιόπων· οἱ μὲν πρὸς νότου
ἀνέμου Ἰνδοὶ τοῖς Αἰθίοψι μᾶλλόν τι ἐοίκασι,

can swim in it or float upon it, but everything goes straight to the bottom; so far is this water thinner and more aery than any other. In the summer there is rain through India; especially on the mountains, Parapamisus and Hemodus and the Imaus, and from them the rivers run great and turbulent. The plains of India also receive rain in summer, and much part of them becomes swamp; in fact Alexander's army retired from the river Acesines in midsummer, when the river had overflowed on to the plains; from these, therefore, one can gauge the flooding of the Nile, since probably the mountains of Ethiopia receive rain in summer, and from them the Nile is swollen and overflows its banks on to the land of Egypt; the Nile therefore also runs turbid this time of the year, as it probably would not be from melting snow; nor yet if its stream was dammed up by the seasonal winds which blow during the summer; and besides, the mountains of Ethiopia are probably not snow-covered, on account of the heat. But that they receive rain as India does is not outside the bounds of probability; since in other respects India is not unlike Ethiopia, and the Indian rivers have crocodiles like the Ethiopian and Egyptian Nile; and some of the Indian rivers have fish and other large water animals like those of the Nile, save the river-horse: though Onesicritus states that they do have the river-horse also. The appearance of the inhabitants, too, is not so far different in India and Ethiopia; the southern Indians resemble the Ethiopians a good

μέλανές τε ἰδέσθαι εἰσί, καὶ ἡ κόμη αὐτοῖσι μέλαινα· πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι σιμοὶ οὐχ ὡσαύτως οὐδὲ οὐλόκρανοι ὡς Αἰθίοπες· οἱ δὲ βορειότεροι τούτων κατ' Αἰγυπτίους μάλιστα ἂν εἶεν τὰ σώματα.

VII. Ἔθνεα δὲ Ἰνδικὰ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν τὰ ἅπαντα λέγει Μεγασθένης, δυοῖν δέοντα. Καὶ πολλὰ μὲν εἶναι ἔθνεα Ἰνδικὰ καὶ αὐτὸς συμφέρομαι Μεγασθένεϊ, τὸ δὲ ἀτρεκὲς οὐκ ἔχω εἰκάσαι ὅπως ἐκμαθὼν ἀνέγραψεν, οὐδὲ πολλοστὸν μέρος τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς ἐπελθών, οὐδὲ ἐπιμιξίης πᾶσι
2 τοῖς γένεσιν ἐούσης ἐς ἀλλήλους. Πάλαι μὲν δὴ νομάδας εἶναι Ἰνδούς, κατάπερ Σκυθέων τοὺς οὐκ ἀροτῆρας, οἳ ἐπὶ τῇσιν ἁμάξῃσι πλανώμενοι ἄλλοτε ἄλλην τῆς Σκυθίης ἀμείβουσιν, οὔτε
3 πόλιας οἰκέοντες οὔτε ἱερὰ θεῶν σέβοντες· οὕτω μηδὲ Ἰνδοῖσι πόλιας εἶναι μηδὲ ἱερὰ θεῶν δεδομημένα· ἀλλ' ἀμπίσχεσθαι μὲν δορὰς θηρείους ὅσων κατακτάνοιεν, σιτέεσθαι δὲ τῶν δένδρεων τὸν φλοιόν· καλέεσθαι δὲ τὰ δένδρεα ταῦτα τῇ Ἰνδῶν φωνῇ Τάλα, καὶ φύεσθαι ἐπ' αὐτῶν, κατάπερ τῶν φοινίκων ἐπὶ τῇσι κορυφῇσιν, οἷά
4 περ τολύπας. Σιτέεσθαι δὲ καὶ τῶν θηρίων ὅσα ἕλοιεν ὠμοφαγέοντας, πρὶν δὴ Διόνυσον ἐλθεῖν
5 ἐς τὴν χώρην τῶν Ἰνδῶν. Διόνυσον δὲ ἐλθόντα, ὡς καρτερὸς ἐγένετο Ἰνδῶν, πόλιάς τε οἰκίσαι καὶ νόμους θέσθαι τῇσι πόλισιν, οἴνου τε δοτῆρα Ἰνδοῖσι γενέσθαι, κατάπερ Ἕλλησι, καὶ σπείρειν
6 διδάξαι τὴν γῆν, διδόντα αὐτὸν σπέρματα, ἢ οὐκ ἐλάσαντος ταύτῃ Τριπτολέμου, ὅτε περ ἐκ Δήμητρος ἐστάλη σπείρειν τὴν γῆν πᾶσαν, ἢ πρὸ Τριπτολέμου τις οὗτος Διόνυσος ἐπελθὼν

deal, and are black of countenance, and their hair black also, only they are not as snub-nosed or so woolly-haired as the Ethiopians; but the northern Indians are most like the Egyptians in appearance.

VII. Megasthenes states that there are one hundred and eighteen Indian tribes. That there are many, I agree with Megasthenes; but I cannot conjecture how he learnt and recorded the exact number, when he never visited any great part of India, and since these different races have not much intercourse one with another. The Indians, he says, were originally nomads, as are the non-agricultural Scythians, who wandering in their waggons inhabit now one and now another part of Scythia; not dwelling in cities and not reverencing any temples of the gods; just so the Indians also had no cities and built no temples; but were clothed with the skins of animals slain in the chase, and for food ate the bark of trees; these trees were called in the Indian tongue Tala,[1] and there grew upon them, just as on the tops of palm trees, what look like clews of wool. They also used as food what game they had captured, eating it raw, before, at least, Dionysus came into India. But when Dionysus had come, and become master of India, he founded cities, and gave laws for these cities, and became to the Indians the bestower of wine, as to the Greeks, and taught them to sow their land, giving them seed. It may be that Triptolemus, when he was sent out by Demeter to sow the entire earth, did not come this way; or perhaps before Triptolemus this Dionysus whoever he was

[1] The fan-palm; it is tapped for the sugar.

τὴν Ἰνδῶν γῆν σπέρματα σφίσιν ἔδωκε καρποῦ
7 τοῦ ἡμέρου· βόας τε ὑπ' ἀρότρῳ ζεῦξαι Διόνυσον
πρῶτον, καὶ ἀροτῆρας ἀντὶ νομάδων ποιῆσαι
Ἰνδῶν τοὺς πολλούς, καὶ ὁπλίσαι ὅπλοισι τοῖσιν
8 ἀρηΐοισι. Καὶ θεοὺς σέβειν ὅτι ἐδίδαξε Διόνυσος
ἄλλους τε καὶ μάλιστα δὴ ἑωυτὸν κυμβαλίζοντας
καὶ τυμπανίζοντας· καὶ ὄρχησιν δὲ διδάξαι τὴν
σατυρικήν, τὸν κόρδακα παρ' Ἕλλησι καλεό-
9 μενον· καὶ κομᾶν Ἰνδοὺς τῷ θεῷ, μιτρηφορέειν
τε ἀναδεῖξαι, καὶ μύρων ἀλοιφὰς ἐκδιδάξαι, ὥστε
καὶ εἰς Ἀλέξανδρον ἔτι ὑπὸ κυμβάλων τε καὶ
τυμπάνων ἐς τὰς μάχας Ἰνδοὶ κατίσταντο.

VIII. Ἀπιόντα δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς, ὥς οἱ
ταῦτα κεκοσμέατο, καταστῆσαι βασιλέα τῆς
χώρης Σπατέμβαν, τῶν ἑταίρων ἕνα, τὸν βακχω-
δέστατον· τελευτήσαντος δὲ Σπατέμβα τὴν
βασιληΐην ἐκδέξασθαι Βουδύαν τὸν τούτου παῖδα·
2 καὶ τὸν μὲν πεντήκοντα καὶ δύο ἔτεα βασιλεῦσαι
Ἰνδῶν, τὸν πατέρα, τὸν δὲ παῖδα, εἴκοσιν ἔτεα·
καὶ τούτου παῖδα ἐκδέξασθαι τὴν βασιληΐην
3 Κραδεύαν·[1] καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε τὸ πολλὸν μὲν
κατὰ γένος ἀμείβειν τὴν βασιληΐην, παῖδα παρὰ
πατρὸς ἐκδεκόμενον· εἰ δὲ ἐκλείποι τὸ γένος,
οὕτω δὴ ἀριστίνδην κατίστασθαι Ἰνδοῖσι βασι-
4 λέας. Ἡρακλέα δέ, ὅντινα ἐς Ἰνδοὺς ἀπικέσθαι
λόγος κατέχει, παρ' αὐτοῖσιν Ἰνδοῖσι γηγενέα
5 λέγεσθαι. Τοῦτον τὸν Ἡρακλέα μάλιστα πρὸς
Σουρασηνῶν γεραίρεσθαι, Ἰνδικοῦ ἔθνεος, ἵνα
δύο πόλιες μεγάλαι, Μέθορά τε καὶ Κλεισόβορα,
καὶ ποταμὸς Ἰωβάρης πλωτὸς διαρρέει τὴν χώρην

[1] Κραδεύαν is odd. There was a son of Buddha called Pururavas. Some emend in this direction.

came to India and gave the Indians seeds of domesticated plants; then Dionysus first yoked oxen to the plough and made most of the Indians agriculturists instead of wanderers, and armed them also with the arms of warfare. Further, Dionysus taught them to reverence other gods, but especially, of course, himself, with clashings of cymbals and beating of drums and dancing in the Satyric fashion, the dance called among Greeks the "cordax"; and taught them to wear long hair in honour of the god, and instructed them in the wearing of the conical cap and the anointings with perfumes; so that the Indians came out even against Alexander to battle with the sound of cymbals and drums.

VIII. When departing from India, after making all these arrangements, he made Spatembas king of the land, one of his Companions, being most expert in Bacchic rites; when Spatembas died, Budyas his son reigned in his stead; the father was King of India fifty-two years, and the son twenty years; and his son, again, came to the throne, one Cradeuas; and his descendants for the most part received the kingdom in succession, son succeeding father; if the succession failed, then the kings were appointed for some pre-eminence. But Heracles, whom tradition states to have arrived as far as India, was called by the Indians themselves "Indigenous." This Heracles was chiefly honoured by the Surasenians, an Indian tribe, among whom are two great cities, Methora and Cleisobora, and the navigable river

6 αὐτῶν. Τὴν σκευὴν δὲ οὗτος ὁ Ἡρακλέης ἥντινα
ἐφόρεε Μεγασθένης λέγει ὅτι ὁμοίην τῷ Θηβαίῳ
Ἡρακλέϊ, ὡς αὐτοὶ Ἰνδοὶ ἀπηγέονται· καὶ τούτῳ
ἄρσενας μὲν παῖδας πολλοὺς κάρτα γενέσθαι ἐν
τῇ Ἰνδῶν γῇ· πολλῇσι γὰρ δὴ γυναιξὶν ἐς γάμον
ἐλθεῖν καὶ τοῦτον τὸν Ἡρακλέα· θυγατέρα δὲ
7 μουνογενέην· οὔνομα δὲ εἶναι τῇ παιδὶ Πανδαίην
καὶ τὴν χώρην ἵνα τε ἐγένετο καὶ ἧστινος ἐπέ-
τρεψεν αὐτὴν ἄρχειν Ἡρακλέης Πανδαίην, τῆς
παιδὸς ἐπώνυμον· καὶ ταύτῃ ἐλέφαντας μὲν
γενέσθαι ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐς πεντακοσίους, ἵππον
δὲ ἐς τετρακισχιλίην, πεζῶν δὲ ἐς τὰς τρεῖς καὶ
8 δέκα μυριάδας. Καὶ τάδε μετεξέτεροι Ἰνδῶν
περὶ Ἡρακλέος λέγουσιν· ἐπελθόντα αὐτὸν πᾶσαν
γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν, καὶ καθήραντα ὅ τιπερ
κακὸν κίναδος, ἐξευρεῖν ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ κόσμον
9 γυναικήϊον· ὅντινα καὶ εἰς τοῦτο ἔτι οἵ τε ἐξ
Ἰνδῶν τῆς χώρης τὰ ἀγώγιμα παρ' ἡμέας
ἀγινέοντες σπουδῇ ὠνεόμενοι ἐκκομίζουσι, καὶ
Ἑλλήνων δὲ πάλαι καὶ Ῥωμαίων νῦν ὅσοι πολυ-
κτέανοι καὶ εὐδαίμονες, μέζονι ἔτι σπουδῇ ὠνέ-
ονται τὸν μαργαρίτην δὴ τὸν θαλάσσιον, οὕτω
10 τῇ Ἰνδῶν γλώσσῃ καλεόμενον· τὸν γὰρ Ἡρακλέα,
ὡς καλόν οἱ ἐφάνη τὸ φόρημα, ἐκ πάσης τῆς
θαλάσσης ἐς τὴν Ἰνδῶν γῆν συναγινέειν τὸν
μαργαρίτην δὴ τοῦτον, τῇ θυγατρὶ τῇ ἑωυτοῦ
11 εἶναι κόσμον. Καὶ λέγει Μεγασθένης, θηρεύεσθαι
αὐτοῦ τὴν κόγχην δικτύοισι, νέμεσθαι δ' ἐν τῇ
θαλάσσῃ κατ' αὐτὸ πολλὰς κόγχας, κατάπερ
τὰς μελίσσας· καὶ εἶναι γὰρ καὶ τοῖσι μαργα-
ρίτῃσι βασιλέα ἢ βασίλισσαν, ὡς τῇσι μελισ-
12 σίῃσι. Καὶ ὅστις μὲν ἐκεῖνον κατ' ἐπιτυχίην

Iobares flows through their territory. Megasthenes also says that the garb which this Heracles wore was like that of the Theban Heracles, as also the Indians themselves record; he also had many sons in his country, for this Heracles too wedded many wives; he had only one daughter, called Pandaea; as also the country in which she was born, and to rule which Heracles educated her, was called Pandaea after the girl; here she possessed five hundred elephants given by her father, four thousand horsemen, and as many as a hundred and thirty thousand foot-soldiers. This also some writers relate about Heracles; he traversed all the earth and sea, and when he had rid the earth of evil monsters he found in the sea a jewel much affected by women. And thus, even to our day, those who bring exports from India to our country purchase these jewels at great price and export them, and all Greeks in old time, and Romans now who are rich and prosperous, are more eager to buy the sea pearl, as it is called in the Indian tongue; for that Heracles, the jewel appearing to him charming, collected from all the sea to India this kind of pearl, to adorn his daughter. And Megasthenes says that this oyster is taken with nets; that it is a native of the sea, many oysters being together, like bees; and that the pearl oysters have a king or queen, as bees do. Should anyone by chance capture

συλλάβοι, τοῦτον δὲ εὐπετέως περιβάλλειν καὶ τὸ ἄλλο σμῆνος τῶν μαργαριτέων· εἰ δὲ διαφύγοι σφᾶς ὁ βασιλεύς, τούτῳ δὲ οὐκέτι θηρατοὺς εἶναι τοὺς ἄλλους· τοὺς ἁλόντας δὲ περιορᾶν κατασαπῆναι σφίσι τὴν σάρκα, τῷ δὲ ὀστέῳ ἐς κόσμον
13 χρᾶσθαι. Καὶ εἶναι γὰρ καὶ παρ' Ἰνδοῖσι τὸν μαργαρίτην τριστάσιον κατὰ τιμὴν πρὸς χρυσίον τὸ ἄπεφθον, καὶ τοῦτο ἐν τῇ Ἰνδῶν γῇ ὀρυσσόμενον.

IX. Ἐν δὲ τῇ χώρῃ ταύτῃ, ἵνα ἐβασίλευσεν ἡ θυγάτηρ τοῦ Ἡρακλέος, τὰς μὲν γυναῖκας ἑπταέτεας ἐούσας ἐς ὥρην γάμου ἰέναι, τοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας τεσσαράκοντα ἔτεα τὰ πλεῖστα βιώσκεσ-
2 θαι. Καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτου λεγόμενον λόγον εἶναι παρ' Ἰνδοῖσιν· Ἡρακλέα, ὀψιγόνου οἱ γενομένης τῆς παιδός, ἐπείτε δὴ ἐγγὺς ἔμαθεν ἑωυτῷ ἐοῦσαν τὴν τελευτήν, οὐκ ἔχοντα ὅτῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐκδῷ τὴν παῖδα ἑωυτοῦ ἐπαξίῳ, αὐτὸν μιγῆναι τῇ παιδὶ ἑπταέτεϊ ἐούσῃ, ὡς γένος ἐξ οὗ τε κἀκείνης ὑπο-
3 λείπεσθαι Ἰνδῶν βασιλέας. Ποιῆσαι ὦν αὐτὴν Ἡρακλέα ὡραίην γάμου· καὶ ἐκ τοῦδε ἅπαν τὸ γένος τοῦτο ὅτου ἡ Πανδαίη ἐπῆρξε, ταὐτὸν
4 τοῦτο γέρας ἔχειν παρὰ Ἡρακλέος. Ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκέει, εἴπερ ὦν τὰ ἐς τοσόνδε ἄτοπα Ἡρακλέης οἷός τε ἦν ἐξεργάζεσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸν ἀποφῆναι μακροβιώτερον, ὡς ὡραίῃ μιγῆναι τῇ παιδί.
5 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἰ ταῦτα ὑπὲρ τῆς ὥρης τῶν ταύτῃ παίδων ἀτρεκέα ἐστίν, ἐς ταὐτὸν φέρειν δοκέει ἔμοιγε ἐς ὅ τιπερ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῆς ἡλικίης ὅτι τεσσαρακοντούτεες ἀποθνήσκουσιν
6 οἱ πρεσβύτατοι αὐτῶν. Οἷς γὰρ τό τε γῆρας τοσῷδε ταχύτερον ἐπέρχεται καὶ ὁ θάνατος ὁμοῦ τῷ γήραϊ, πάντως που καὶ ἡ ἀκμὴ πρὸς

the king, he can easily surround the rest of the oysters; but should the king slip through, then the others cannot be taken; and of those that are taken, the Indians let their flesh rot, but use the skeleton as an ornament. For among the Indians this pearl sometimes is worth three times its weight in solid gold, which is itself dug up in India.

IX. In this country where Heracles' daughter was queen, the girls are marriageable at seven years, and the men do not live longer than forty years. About this there is a story among the Indians, that Heracles, to whom when in mature years this daughter was born, realizing that his own end was near, and knowing of no worthy husband to whom he might bestow his daughter, himself became her husband when she was seven, so that Indian kings, their children, were left behind. Heracles made her then marriageable, and hence all the royal race of Pandaea arose, with the same privilege from Heracles. But I think, even if Heracles was able to accomplish anything so absurd, he could have lengthened his own life, so as to mate with the girl when of maturer years. But really if this about the age of the girls in this district is true, it seems to me to tend the same way as the men's age, since the oldest of them die at forty years. For when old age comes on so much sooner and death with age, maturity will reasonably

7 λόγον τοῦ τέλεος ταχυτέρη ἐπανθέει· ὥστε τριακοντούτεες μὲν ὠμογέροντες ἂν που εἶεν αὐτοῖσιν οἱ ἄνδρες, εἴκοσι δὲ ἔτεα γεγονότες οἱ ἔξω ἥβης νεηνίσκοι· ἡ δὲ ἀκροτάτη ἥβη ἀμφὶ τὰ πεντεκαίδεκα ἔτεα· καὶ τῇσι γυναιξὶν ὥρη τοῦ γάμου κατὰ λόγον ἂν οὕτω ἐς τὰ ἑπτὰ ἔτεα
8 συμβαίνοι. Καὶ γὰρ τοὺς καρποὺς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρῃ πεπαίνεσθαί τε ταχύτερον μὲν τῆς ἄλλης, αὐτὸς οὗτος Μεγασθένης ἀνέγραψε, καὶ
9 φθίνειν ταχύτερον. Ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ Διονύσου βασιλέας ἠρίθμεον Ἰνδοὶ ἐς Σανδράκοττον τρεῖς καὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, ἔτεα δέ, δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἑξακισχίλια· ἐν δὲ τούτοισι τρὶς τὸ πᾶν εἰς ἐλευθερίην * * τὴν δὲ καὶ ἐς τριηκόσια· τὴν δὲ εἴκοσί τε ἐτέων καὶ ἑκατόν·
10 πρεσβύτερόν τε Διόνυσον Ἡρακλέος δέκα καὶ πέντε γενεῇσιν Ἰνδοὶ λέγουσιν· ἄλλον δὲ οὐδένα ἐμβαλεῖν ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἰνδῶν ἐπὶ πολέμῳ, οὐδὲ Κῦρον τὸν Καμβύσεω, καίτοι ἐπὶ Σκύθας ἐλάσαντα καὶ τἄλλα πολυπραγμονέστατον δὴ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίην βασιλέων γενόμενον τὸν Κῦρον·
11 ἀλλὰ Ἀλέξανδρον γὰρ ἐλθεῖν τε καὶ κρατῆσαι πάντων τοῖσιν ὅπλοισιν, ὅσους γε δὴ ἐπῆλθε· καὶ ἂν καὶ πάντων κρατῆσαι, εἰ ἡ στρατιὴ
12 ἤθελεν. Οὐ μὲν δὴ οὐδὲ Ἰνδῶν τινα ἔξω τῆς οἰκηΐης σταλῆναι ἐπὶ πολέμῳ διὰ δικαιότητα.

X. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε, μνημήια ὅτι Ἰνδοὶ τοῖς τελευτήσασιν οὐ ποιέουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἀρετὰς γὰρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἱκανὰς ἐς μνήμην τίθενται τοῖσιν ἀποθανοῦσι, καὶ τὰς ᾠδὰς αἳ αὐτοῖσιν
2 ἐπᾴδονται. Πολίων δὲ ἀριθμὸν οὐκ εἶναι ἂν ἀτρεκὲς ἀναγράψαι τῶν Ἰνδικῶν ὑπὸ πλήθεος·

be earlier, in proportion to the end; so that at thirty the men might be on the threshold of old age, and at twenty, men in their prime, and manhood at about fifteen, so that the women might reasonably be marriageable at seven. For that the fruits ripen earlier in this country than elsewhere, and perish earlier, this Megasthenes himself tells us. From Dionysus to Sandracottus the Indians counted a hundred and fifty-three kings, over six thousand and forty-two years, and during this time thrice [movements were made] for liberty . . . this for three hundred years; the other for a hundred and twenty years; the Indians say that Dionysus was fifteen generations earlier than Heracles; but no one else ever invaded India, not even Cyrus son of Cambyses, though he made an expedition against the Scythians, and in all other ways was the most energetic of the kings in Asia; but Alexander came and conquered by force of arms all the countries he entered; and would have conquered the whole world had his army been willing. But no Indian ever went outside his own country on a warlike expedition, so righteous were they.

X. This also is related; that Indians do not put up memorials to the dead; but they regard their virtues as sufficient memorials for the departed, and the songs which they sing at their funerals. As for the cities of India, one could not record their number accurately by reason of their multitude; but those

ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὅσαι παραποτάμιαι αὐτέων ἢ παραθα-
3 λάσσιαι, ταύτας μὲν ξυλίνας ποιέεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ
εἶναι ἐκ πλίνθου ποιεομένας διαρκέσαι ἐπὶ χρόνον
τοῦ τε ὕδατος ἕνεκα τοῦ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ὅτι οἱ
ποταμοὶ αὐτοῖσιν ὑπερβάλλοντες ὑπὲρ τὰς ὄχθας
4 ἐμπιπλᾶσι τοῦ ὕδατος τὰ πεδία. Ὅσαι δὲ ἐν
ὑπερδεξίοισί τε καὶ μετεώροισι τόποισι, καὶ τού-
τοισιν ὑψηλοῖσιν, ᾠκισμέναι εἰσὶ, ταύτας δὲ ἐκ
5 πλίνθου τε καὶ πηλοῦ ποιέεσθαι· μεγίστην δὲ
πόλιν ἐν Ἰνδοῖσιν εἶναι Παλίμβοθρα καλεομένην,
ἐν τῇ Πρασίων γῇ, ἵνα αἱ συμβολαί εἰσι τοῦ τε
Ἐραννοβόα ποταμοῦ καὶ τοῦ Γάγγεω· τοῦ μὲν
Γάγγεω, τοῦ μεγίστου ποταμῶν· ὁ δὲ Ἐραννοβόας
τρίτος μὲν ἂν εἴη τῶν Ἰνδῶν ποταμῶν, μέζων δὲ
τῶν ἄλλῃ καὶ οὗτος· ἀλλὰ ξυγχωρέει αὐτὸς τῷ
Γάγγῃ, ἐπειδὰν ἐμβάλλῃ ἐς αὐτὸν τὸ ὕδωρ.
6 Καὶ λέγει Μεγασθένης, μῆκος μὲν ἐπέχειν τὴν
πόλιν κατ' ἑκατέρην τὴν πλευρὴν ἵναπερ μα-
κροτάτη αὐτὴ ἑωυτῆς ᾤκισται ἐς ὀγδοήκοντα
7 σταδίους· τὸ δὲ πλάτος ἐς πεντεκαίδεκα· τάφρον
δὲ περιβεβλῆσθαι τῇ πόλι τὸ εὖρος ἑξάπλεθρον,
τὸ δὲ βάθος τριήκοντα πήχεων· πύργους δὲ
ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ πεντακοσίους ἐπέχειν τὸ τεῖχος
8 καὶ πύλας τέσσαρας καὶ ἑξήκοντα. Εἶναι δὲ καὶ
τόδε μέγα ἐν τῇ Ἰνδῶν γῇ, πάντας Ἰνδοὺς εἶναι
ἐλευθέρους, οὐδέ τινα δοῦλον εἶναι Ἰνδόν. Τοῦτο
μὲν Λακεδαιμονίοισιν ἐς ταὐτὸ συμβαίνει καὶ
9 Ἰνδοῖσι· Λακεδαιμονίοισι μέν γε οἱ εἵλωτες
δοῦλοί εἰσι καὶ τὰ δούλων ἐργάζονται· Ἰνδοῖσι
δὲ οὐδὲ ἄλλος δοῦλός ἐστι, μήτι γε Ἰνδῶν τις.

XI. Νενέμηνται δὲ οἱ πάντες Ἰνδοὶ ἐς ἑπτὰ
μάλιστα γενεάς· ἐν μὲν αὐτοῖσιν οἱ σοφισταί

of them which are near rivers or near the sea, they build of wood; for if they were built of brick, they could not last long because of the rain, and also because their rivers overflow their banks and fill the plains with water. But such cities as are built on high and lofty places, they make of brick and clay. The greatest of the Indian cities is called Palimbothra, in the district of the Prasians, at the confluence of the Erannoboas and the Ganges; the Ganges, greatest of all rivers; the Erannoboas may be the third of the Indian rivers, itself greater than the rivers of other countries; but it yields precedence to the Ganges, when it pours into it its tributary stream. And Megasthenes says that the length of the city along either side, where it is longest, reaches to eighty stades; its breadth to fifteen; and a ditch has been dug round the city, six plethra in breadth, thirty cubits high; and on the wall are five hundred and seventy towers, and sixty-four gates. This also is remarkable in India, that all Indians are free, and no Indian at all is a slave. In this the Indians agree with the Lacedaemonians. Yet the Lacedaemonians have Helots for slaves, who perform the duties of slaves; but the Indians have no slaves at all, much less is any Indian a slave.

XI. The Indians generally are divided into seven castes. Those called the wise men are less in number

εἰσι, πλήθεϊ μὲν μείους τῶν ἄλλων, δόξῃ δὲ καὶ
2 τιμῇ γεραρώτατοι. Οὔτε γάρ τι τῷ σώματι
ἐργάζεσθαι ἀναγκαίη σφὶν προσκέεται, οὔτε τι
ἀποφέρειν ἀπ' ὅτου πονέουσιν ἐς τὸ κοινόν· οὐδέ
τι ἄλλο ἀνάγκης ἁπλῶς ἐπεῖναι τοῖσι σοφιστῇσιν,
ὅτι μὴ θύειν τὰς θυσίας τοῖσι θεοῖσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ
3 κοινοῦ τῶν Ἰνδῶν· καὶ ὅστις δὲ ἰδίᾳ θύει, ἐξηγητὴς
αὐτῷ τῆς θυσίης τῶν τις σοφιστέων τούτων
γίνεται, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως κεχαρισμένα τοῖσι θεοῖσι
4 θύσαντας. Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ μαντικῆς οὗτοι μοῦνοι
Ἰνδῶν δαήμονες, οὐδὲ ἐφεῖται ἄλλῳ μαντεύεσθαι
5 ὅτι μὴ σοφῷ ἀνδρί. Μαντεύουσι δὲ ὅσα ὑπὲρ
τῶν ὡρέων τοῦ ἔτεος καὶ εἴ τις ἐς τὸ κοινὸν
συμφορὴ καταλαμβάνει· τὰ δὲ ἴδια ἑκάστοισιν
οὔ σφιν μέλει μαντεύεσθαι, ἢ ὡς οὐκ ἐξικνεομένης
τῆς μαντικῆς ἐς τὰ σμικρότερα, ἢ ὡς οὐκ
6 ἄξιον ἐπὶ τούτοισι πονέεσθαι. Ὅστις δὲ
ἁμάρτοι ἐς τρὶς μαντευσάμενος, τούτῳ δὲ ἄλλο
μὲν κακὸν γίνεσθαι οὐδέν, σιωπᾶν δὲ εἶναι ἐπά-
ναγκες τοῦ λοιποῦ· καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις ἐξαναγ-
κάσει τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον φωνῆσαι, ὅτου ἡ σιωπὴ
7 κατακέκριται. Οὗτοι γυμνοὶ διαιτῶνται οἱ
σοφισταί, τοῦ μὲν χειμῶνος ὑπαίθριοι ἐν τῷ
ἡλίῳ, τοῦ δὲ θέρεος ἐπὴν ὁ ἥλιος κατέχῃ, ἐν
τοῖσι λειμῶσι καὶ τοῖσιν ἕλεσιν ὑπὸ δένδρεσι
μεγάλοισιν· ὧν τὴν σκιὴν Νέαρχος λέγει ἐς
πέντε πλέθρα ἐν κύκλῳ ἐξικνέεσθαι, καὶ ἂν
καὶ μυρίους ἀνθρώπους ὑπὸ ἑνὶ δένδρεϊ σκιάζεσ-
8 θαι· τηλικαῦτα εἶναι ταῦτα τὰ δένδρεα. Σιτέ-
ονται δὲ ὡραῖα καὶ τὸν φλοιὸν τῶν δένδρεων,
γλυκύν τε ὄντα τὸν φλοιὸν καὶ τρόφιμον οὐ μεῖον
9 ἤπερ αἱ βάλανοι τῶν φοινίκων. Δεύτεροι δ' ἐπὶ

than the rest, but chiefest in honour and regard. For they are under no necessity to do any bodily labour; nor to contribute from the results of their work to the common store; in fact, no sort of constraint whatever rests upon these wise men, save to offer the sacrifices to the gods on behalf of the people of India. Then whenever anyone sacrifices privately, one of these wise men acts as instructor of the sacrifice, since otherwise the sacrifice would not have proved acceptable to the gods. These Indians also are alone expert in prophecy, and none, save one of the wise men, is allowed to prophesy. And they prophesy about the seasons of the year, or of any impending public calamity; but they do not trouble to prophesy on private matters to individuals, either because their prophecy does not condescend to smaller things, or because it is undignified for them to trouble about such things. And when one has thrice made an error in his prophecy, he does not suffer any harm, except that he must for ever hold his peace; and no one will ever persuade such a one to prophesy on whom this silence has been enjoined. These wise men spend their time naked, during the winter in the open air and sunshine, but in summer, when the sun is strong, in the meadows and the marsh lands under great trees;[1] their shade Nearchus computes to reach five plethra all round, and ten thousand men could take shade under one tree; so great are these trees. They eat fruits in their season, and the bark of the trees;[2] this is sweet and nutritious as much as are the dates of the palm. Then next to

[1] The banyan.

[2] Perhaps an error like that of VII. 3 above (the bark stripped, not eaten).

τούτοισιν οἱ γεωργοί εἰσιν, οὗτοι πλήθεϊ πλεῖστοι Ἰνδῶν ἐόντες· καὶ τούτοισιν οὔτε ὅπλα ἐστὶν ἀρήϊα οὔτε μέλει τὰ πολέμια ἔργα, ἀλλὰ τὴν χώρην οὗτοι ἐργάζονται· καὶ τοὺς φόρους τοῖσί τε βασιλεῦσι καὶ τῇσι πόλισιν, ὅσαι αὐτόνομοι,
10 οὗτοι ἀποφέρουσι· καὶ εἰ πόλεμος ἐς ἀλλήλους τοῖσιν Ἰνδοῖσι τύχοι, τῶν ἐργαζομένων τὴν γῆν οὐ θέμις σφὶν ἅπτεσθαι, οὐδὲ αὐτὴν τὴν γῆν τέμνειν· ἀλλὰ οἱ μὲν πολεμέουσι καὶ κατακαίνουσιν ἀλλήλους ὅπως τύχοιεν, οἱ δὲ πλησίον αὐτῶν κατ' ἡσυχίην ἀροῦσιν ἢ τρυγῶσιν ἢ κλαδοῦσιν ἢ
11 θερίζουσιν. Τρίτοι δέ εἰσιν Ἰνδοῖσιν οἱ νομέες, οἱ ποιμένες τε καὶ βουκόλοι, καὶ οὗτοι οὔτε κατὰ πόλιας οὔτε ἐν τῇσι κώμῃσιν οἰκέουσι. Νομάδες τέ εἰσι καὶ ἀνὰ τὰ οὔρεα βιοτεύουσι, φόρον δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ἀπὸ τῶν κτηνέων ἀποφέρουσι· καὶ θηρεύουσιν οὗτοι ἀνὰ τὴν χώρην ὄρνιθάς τε καὶ ἄγρια θηρία.

XII. Τέταρτον δέ ἐστι τὸ δημιουργικόν τε καὶ καπηλικὸν γένος. Καὶ οὗτοι λειτουργοί εἰσι, καὶ φόρον ἀποφέρουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων τῶν σφετέρων, πλήν γε δὴ ὅσοι τὰ ἀρήϊα ὅπλα ποιέουσιν· οὗτοι δὲ καὶ μισθὸν ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ προσλαμβάνουσιν. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ γένεϊ οἵ τε ναυπηγοὶ καὶ οἱ ναῦταί εἰσιν, ὅσοι κατὰ τοὺς ποταμοὺς πλώουσι.
2 Πέμπτον δὲ γένος ἐστὶν Ἰνδοῖσιν οἱ πολεμισταί, πλήθεϊ μὲν δεύτερον μετὰ τοὺς γεωργούς, πλείστῃ δὲ ἐλευθερίῃ τε καὶ εὐθυμίῃ ἐπιχρεόμενον· καὶ οὗτοι ἀσκηταὶ μούνων τῶν πολεμικῶν ἔργων εἰσί.
3 Τὰ δὲ ὅπλα ἄλλοι αὐτοῖσι ποιέουσι, καὶ ἵππους ἄλλοι παρέχουσι· καὶ διακονέουσιν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου ἄλλοι, οἳ τούς τε ἵππους αὐτοῖσι θερα-

these come the farmers, these being the most numerous class of Indians; they have no use for warlike arms or warlike deeds, but they till the land; and they pay the taxes to the kings and to the cities, such as are self-governing; and if there is internal war among the Indians, they may not touch these workers, and not even devastate the land itself; but some are making war and slaying all comers, and others close by are peacefully ploughing or gathering the fruits or shaking down apples or harvesting. The third class of Indians are the herdsmen, pasturers of sheep and cattle, and these dwell neither by cities nor in the villages. They are nomads and get their living on the hillsides, and they pay taxes from their animals; they hunt also birds and wild game in the country.

XII. The fourth class is of artisans and shopkeepers; these are workers, and pay tribute from their works, save such as make weapons of war; these are paid by the community. In this class are the shipwrights and sailors, who navigate the rivers. The fifth class of Indians is the soldiers' class, next after the farmers in number; these have the greatest freedom and the most spirit. They practise military pursuits only. Their weapons others forge for them, and again others provide horses; others too serve in the camps, those who groom their horses and polish

πείνουσι καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἐκκαθαίρουσι καὶ τοὺς
ἐλέφαντας ἄγουσι καὶ τὰ ἅρματα κοσμέουσί τε
4 καὶ ἡνιοχεύουσιν. Αὐτοὶ δέ, ἔστ' ἂν μὲν πολε-
μέειν δέῃ, πολεμέουσιν, εἰρήνης δὲ γενομένης
εὐθυμέονται· καί σφιν μισθὸς ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ
τοσόσδε ἔρχεται, ὡς καὶ ἄλλους τρέφειν ἀπ'
5 αὐτοῦ εὐμαρέως. Ἕκτοι δέ εἰσιν Ἰνδοῖσιν οἱ
ἐπίσκοποι καλεόμενοι. Οὗτοι ἐφορῶσι τὰ γινό-
μενα κατά τε τὴν χώρην καὶ κατὰ τὰς πόλιας·
καὶ ταῦτα ἀναγγέλλουσι τῷ βασιλέϊ, ἵναπερ
βασιλεύονται Ἰνδοί, ἢ τοῖσι τέλεσιν, ἵναπερ
αὐτόνομοι εἰσί· καὶ τούτοισιν οὐ θέμις ψεῦδος
ἀγγεῖλαι οὐδέν· οὐδέ τις Ἰνδῶν αἰτίην ἔσχε
6 ψεύσασθαι. Ἕβδομοι δέ εἰσιν οἱ ὑπὲρ τῶν
κοινῶν βουλευόμενοι ὁμοῦ τῷ βασιλέϊ, ἢ κατὰ
τὰς πόλιας ὅσαι αὐτόνομοι σὺν τῇσιν ἀρχῇσι.
7 Πλήθεϊ μὲν ὀλίγον τὸ γένος τοῦτό ἐστι, σοφίῃ δὲ
καὶ δικαιότητι ἐκ πάντων προκεκριμένον· ἔνθεν
οἵ τε ἄρχοντες αὐτοῖσιν ἐπιλέγονται καὶ ὅσοι
νομάρχαι καὶ ὕπαρχοι καὶ θησαυροφύλακές τε
καὶ στρατοφύλακες, ναύαρχοί τε καὶ ταμίαι, καὶ
8 τῶν κατὰ γεωργίην ἔργων ἐπιστάται. Γαμέειν δὲ
ἐξ ἑτέρου γένεος οὐ θέμις, οἷον τοῖσι γεωργοῖσιν
ἐκ τοῦ δημιουργικοῦ, ἢ ἔμπαλιν· οὐδὲ δύο τέχνας
ἐπιτηδεύειν τὸν αὐτόν, οὐδὲ τοῦτο θέμις· οὐδὲ
ἀμείβειν ἐξ ἑτέρου γένεος εἰς ἕτερον, οἷον γεωργι-
κὸν ἐκ νομέος γενέσθαι, ἢ νομέα ἐκ δημιουργικοῦ.
9 Μοῦνον σφίσιν ἀνεῖται σοφιστὴν ἐκ παντὸς
γένεος γενέσθαι· ὅτι οὐ μαλθακὰ τοῖσι σοφισ-
τῇσίν εἰσι τὰ πρήγματα, ἀλλὰ πάντων ταλαι-
πωρότατα.

XIII. Θηρῶσι δὲ Ἰνδοὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἄγρια

their weapons, guide the elephants, and keep in order and drive the chariots. They themselves, when there is need of war, go to war, but in time of peace they make merry; and they receive so much pay from the community that they can easily from their pay support others. The sixth class of Indians are those called overlookers. They oversee everything that goes on in the country or in the cities; and this they report to the King, where the Indians are governed by kings, or to the authorities, where they are independent. To these it is illegal to make any false report; nor was any Indian ever accused of such falsification. The seventh class is those who deliberate about the community together with the King, or, in such cities as are self-governing, with the authorities. In number this class is small, but in wisdom and uprightness it bears the palm from all others; from this class are selected their governors, district governors, and deputies, custodians of the treasures, officers of army and navy, financial officers, and overseers of agricultural works. To marry out of any class is unlawful—as, for instance, into the farmer class from the artisans, or the other way; nor must the same man practise two pursuits; nor change from one class into another, as to turn farmer from shepherd, or shepherd from artisan. It is only permitted to join the wise men out of any class; for their business is not an easy one, but of all most laborious.

XIII. Most wild animals which the Greeks hunt

θηρία, κατάπερ καὶ Ἕλληνες· ἡ δὲ τῶν ἐλεφάντων σφὶν θήρη οὐδέν τι ἄλλῃ ἔοικεν, ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα τὰ θηρία οὐδαμοῖσιν ἄλλοισι θηρίοισιν
2 ἐπέοικεν. Ἀλλὰ τόπον γὰρ ἐπιλεξάμενοι ἄπεδον καὶ καυματώδεα ἐν κύκλῳ τάφρον ὀρύσσουσιν, ὅσον μεγάλῳ στρατοπέδῳ ἐπαυλίσασθαι. Τῆς δὲ τάφρου τὸ εὖρος ἐς πέντε ὀργυιὰς ποιέονται,
3 βάθος τε ἐς τέσσαρας. Τὸν δὲ χόον ὅντινα ἐκβάλλουσιν ἐκ τοῦ ὀρύγματος, ἐπὶ τὰ χείλεα ἑκάτερα τῆς τάφρου ἐπιφορήσαντες, ἀντὶ τείχεος
4 διαχρέονται· αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ χώματι τοῦ ἐπιχειλέος τοῦ ἔξω τῆς τάφρου σκηνάς σφιν ὀρυκτὰς ποιέονται, καὶ διὰ τουτέων ὀπὰς ὑπολείπονται· δι' ὧν φῶς τε αὐτοῖσι συνεισέρχεται καὶ τὰ θηρία προσάγοντα καὶ ἐσελαύνοντα ἐς τὸ ἕρκος σκέπ-
5 τονται. Ἐνταῦθα ἐντὸς τοῦ ἕρκεος καταστήσαντες τῶν τινας θηλέων τρεῖς ἢ τέσσαρας, ὅσαι μάλιστα τὸν θυμὸν χειροήθεες, μίαν εἴσοδον ἀπολιμπάνουσι κατὰ τὴν τάφρον, γεφυρώσαντες τὴν τάφρον· καὶ ταύτῃ χόον τε καὶ ποίην πολλὴν ἐπιφέρουσι τοῦ μὴ ἀρίδηλον εἶναι τοῖσι θηρίοισι
6 τὴν γέφυραν, μή τινα δόλον οἰσθῶσιν. Αὐτοὶ μὲν οὖν ἐκποδὼν σφᾶς ἔχουσι κατὰ τῶν σκηνέων τῶν ὑπὸ[1] τῇ τάφρῳ δεδυκότες. Οἱ δὲ ἄγριοι ἐλέφαντες ἡμέρης μὲν οὐ πελάζουσι τοῖσιν οἰκεομένοισι, νύκτωρ δὲ πλανῶνταί τε πάντῃ καὶ ἀγεληδὸν νέμονται τῷ μεγίστῳ καὶ γενναιοτάτῳ σφῶν ἑπόμενοι, κατάπερ αἱ βόες τοῖσι ταύροισιν.
7 Ἐπεὰν ὦν τῷ ἕρκεϊ πελάσωσι, τήν τε φωνὴν ἀκούοντες τῶν θηλέων καὶ τῇ ὀδμῇ αἰσθανόμενοι,

[1] ὑπὸ is difficult; it should mean "down in"; Schmiedel gives ἐπί.

the Indians hunt also, but these have a way of hunting elephants unlike all other kinds of hunting, just as these animals are unlike other animals. It is this; they choose a place that is level and open to the sun's heat, and dig a ditch in a circle, wide enough for a great army to camp within it. They dig the ditch five fathoms broad, and four deep. The earth which they throw out of the ditch they heap on either side of the ditch, and so use it as a wall; then they make shelters for themselves, dug out of the wall on the outside of the ditch, and leave small windows in them; through these the light comes in, and also they watch the animals coming in and charging into the enclosure. Then within the enclosure they leave some three or four of the females, those that are tamest, and leave only one entrance by the ditch, making a bridge over it; and here they heap much earth and grass so that the animals cannot distinguish the bridge, and so suspect any guile. The hunters then keep themselves out of the way, hiding under the shelters dug in the ditch. Now the wild elephants do not approach inhabited places by daylight, but at night they wander all about and feed in herds, following the largest and finest of their number, as cows do the bulls. And when they approach the ditch and hear the trumpeting of the females and perceive them by their scent, they

*δρόμῳ ἵενται ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν χῶρον τὸν πεφραγμένον·
ἐκπεριελθόντες δὲ τῆς τάφρου τὰ χείλεα εὖτ' ἂν
τῇ γεφύρῃ ἐπιτύχωσι, κατὰ ταύτην ἐς τὸ ἕρκος
8 ὠθέονται. Οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι αἰσθόμενοι τὴν ἔσοδον
τῶν ἐλεφάντων τῶν ἀγρίων, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν τὴν
γέφυραν ὀξέως ἀφεῖλον, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς πέλας
κώμας ἀποδραμόντες ἀγγέλλουσι τοὺς ἐλέφαντας
9 ὅτι ἐν τῷ ἕρκει ἔχονται· οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ἐπιβαί-
νουσι τῶν κρατίστων τε τὸν θυμὸν καὶ τῶν
χειροηθεστάτων ἐλεφάντων, ἐπιβάντες δὲ ἐλαύ-
νουσιν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ ἕρκος, ἐλάσαντες δὲ οὐκ αὐτίκα
μάχης ἅπτονται, ἀλλ' ἐῶσι γὰρ λιμῷ τε ταλαι-
πωρηθῆναι τοὺς ἀγρίους ἐλέφαντας καὶ ὑπὸ τῷ
10 δίψει δουλωθῆναι. Εὖτ' ἂν δὲ σφίσι κακῶς
ἔχειν δοκέωσι, τηνικαῦτα ἐπιστήσαντες αὖθις
τὴν γέφυραν ἐλαύνουσί τε ὡς ἐς τὸ ἕρκος, καὶ τὰ
μὲν πρῶτα μάχη ἵσταται κρατερὴ τοῖσιν ἡμέροισι
τῶν ἐλεφάντων πρὸς τοὺς ἑαλωκότας· ἔπειτα
κρατέονται μὲν κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς οἱ ἄγριοι ὑπό
τε τῇ ἀθυμίῃ καὶ τῷ λιμῷ ταλαιπωρεύμενοι.
11 Οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐλεφάντων καταβάντες παρειμέ-
νοισιν ἤδη τοῖσιν ἀγρίοισι τοὺς πόδας ἄκρους
συνδέουσιν· ἔπειτα ἐγκελεύονται τοῖσιν ἡμέροισι
πληγῇσι σφᾶς κολάζειν πολλῇσιν, ἔστ' ἂν ἐκεῖνοι
ταλαιπωρεύμενοι ἐς γῆν πέσωσι· παραστάντες
δὲ βρόχους περιβάλλουσιν αὐτοῖσι κατὰ τοὺς
12 αὐχένας, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπιβαίνουσι κειμένοισι. Τοῦ
δὲ μὴ ἀποσείεσθαι τοὺς ἀμβάτας μηδέ τι ἄλλο
ἀτάσθαλον ἐργάζεσθαι, τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῖσιν
ἐν κύκλῳ μαχαιρίῳ ὀξέϊ ἐπιτέμνουσι, καὶ τὸν
βρόχον κατὰ τὴν τομὴν περιδέουσιν, ὡς ἀτρέμα
ἔχειν τὴν κεφαλήν τε καὶ τὸν τράχηλον ὑπὸ τοῦ*

rush to the walled enclosure; and when, working round the outside edge of the ditch, they find the bridge, they push across it into the enclosure. Then the hunters, perceiving the entry of the wild elephants, some smartly remove the bridge, others hurrying to the neighbouring villages report that the elephants are caught in the enclosure; and the inhabitants on hearing the news mount the most spirited, and at the same time most disciplined elephants, and then drive them towards the enclosure, and when they have driven them thither they do not at once join battle, but allow the wild elephants to grow distressed by hunger and to be tamed by thirst. But when they think they are sufficiently distressed, then they erect the bridge again, and enter the enclosure; and at first there is a fierce battle between the tamed elephants and the captives, and then, as one would expect, the wild elephants are tamed, distressed as they are by a sinking of their spirits and by hunger. Then the riders dismounting from the tamed elephants tie together the feet of the now languid wild ones; then they order the tamed elephants to punish the rest by repeated blows, till in their distress they fall to earth; then they come near them and throw nooses round their necks; and climb on them as they lie there. And that they may not toss their drivers nor do them any injury, they make an incision in their necks with a sharp knife, all round, and bind their noose round the wound, so that by reason of the sore they keep

13 ἕλκεος. Εἰ γὰρ περιστρέφοιντο ὑπὸ ἀτασθαλίης, τρίβεται αὐτοῖσι τὸ ἕλκος ὑπὸ τῷ κάλῳ. Οὕτω μὲν ὦν ἀτρέμα ἴσχουσι, καὶ αὐτοὶ γνωσιμαχέοντες ἤδη ἄγονται κατὰ τὸν δεσμὸν πρὸς τῶν ἡμέρων.

XIV. Ὅσοι δὲ νήπιοι αὐτῶν ἢ διὰ κακότητα οὐκ ἄξιοι ἐκτῆσθαι, τούτους ἐῶσιν ἀπαλλάττεσ-
2 θαι ἐς τὰ σφέτερα ἤθεα. Ἄγοντες δὲ εἰς τὰς κώμας τοὺς ἁλόντας τοῦ τε χλωροῦ καλάμου καὶ
3 τῆς ποίης τὰ πρῶτα ἐμφαγεῖν ἔδοσαν· οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ ἀθυμίης οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν οὐδὲν σιτέεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ περιιστάμενοι οἱ Ἰνδοὶ ᾠδαῖσί τε καὶ τυμπάνοισι καὶ κυμβάλοισιν ἐν κύκλῳ κρούοντές τε καὶ
4 ἐπᾴδοντες κατευνάζουσι. Θυμόσοφον γὰρ εἴπερ τι ἄλλο θηρίον ὁ ἐλέφας· καί τινες ἤδη αὐτῶν τοὺς ἀμβάτας σφῶν ἐν πολέμῳ ἀποθανόντας ἄραντες αὐτοὶ ἐξήνεγκαν ἐς ταφήν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὑπερήσπισαν κειμένους, οἱ δὲ καὶ πεσόντων προεκινδύνευσαν· ὁ δέ τις πρὸς ὀργὴν ἀποκτείνας τὸν ἀμβάτην ὑπὸ μετανοίης τε καὶ ἀθυμίης ἀπέ-
5 θανεν. Εἶδον δὲ ἔγωγε καὶ κυμβαλίζοντα ἤδη ἐλέφαντα καὶ ἄλλους ὀρχεομένους, κυμβάλοιν τῷ κυμβαλίζοντι[1] πρὸς τοῖν σκελοῖν τοῖν ἔμπροσθεν προσηρτημένοιν, καὶ πρὸς τῇ προβοσκίδι
6 καλεομένῃ ἄλλο κύμβαλον· ὁ δὲ ἐν μέρει τῇ προβοσκίδι ἔκρουε τὸ κύμβαλον ἐν ῥυθμῷ πρὸς ἑκατέροιν τοῖν σκελοῖν· οἱ δὲ ὀρχεόμενοι ἐν κύκλῳ τε ἐχόρευον, καὶ ἐπαίροντές τε καὶ ἐπικάμπτοντες τὰ ἔμπροσθεν σκέλεα ἐν τῷ μέρει ἐν ῥυθμῷ καὶ οὗτοι ἔβαινον, κατότι ὁ κυμβαλίζων
7 σφίσιν ὑπηγέετο. Βαίνεται δὲ ἐλέφας, ἦρος

[1] κυμβάλου and -ηρτημένου Hercher, but one cymbal strikes the other.

their heads and necks still. For were they to turn round to do mischief, the wound beneath the rope chafes them. And so they keep quiet, and perceiving that they are conquered, they are led off by the tamed elephants by the rope.

XIV. Such elephants as are not yet full grown or from some defect are not worth the acquiring, they allow to depart to their own lairs. Then they lead off their captives to the villages and first of all give them green shoots and grass to eat; but they, from want of heart, are not willing to eat anything; so the Indians range themselves about them and with songs and drums and cymbals, beating and singing, lull them to sleep. For if there is an intelligent animal, it is the elephant. Some of them have been known, when their drivers have perished in battle, to have caught them up and carried them to burial; others have stood over them and protected them. Others, when they have fallen, have actively fought for them; one, indeed, who in a passion slew his driver, died from remorse and grief. I myself have seen an elephant clanging the cymbals, and others dancing; two cymbals were fastened to the player's forelegs, and one on his trunk, and he rhythmically beat with his trunk the cymbal on either leg in turn; the dancers danced in circle, and raising and bending their forelegs in turn moved also rhythmically, as the player with the cymbals marked the time for them. The elephants mate in spring, as do oxen

ὥρῃ, κατάπερ βοῦς ἢ ἵππος, ἐπεὰν τῇσι θηλέῃσιν
αἱ παρὰ τοῖσι κροτάφοισιν ἀναπνοαὶ ἀνοιχθεῖσαι
ἐκπνέωσι· κύει δὲ τοὺς ἐλαχίστους μὲν ἑκκαίδεκα
μῆνας, τοὺς πλείστους δὲ ὀκτωκαίδεκα· τίκτει δὲ
ἕν, κατάπερ ἵππος· καὶ τοῦτο ἐκτρέφει τῷ γά-
8 λακτι ἐς ἔτος ὄγδοον. Ζῶσι δὲ ἐλεφάντων οἱ
πλεῖστα ἔτεα ζῶντες ἐς διηκόσια· πολλοὶ δὲ
νούσῳ προτελευτῶσιν αὐτῶν· γήραϊ δὲ ἐς τόσον
9 ἔρχονται. Καὶ ἔστιν αὐτοῖσι τῶν μὲν ὀφθαλμῶν
ἴημα τὸ βόειον γάλα ἐγχεόμενον, πρὸς δὲ τὰς
ἄλλας νούσους ὁ μέλας οἶνος πινόμενος, ἐπὶ δὲ
τοῖσιν ἕλκεσι τὰ ὕεια κρέα ὀπτώμενα καὶ κατα-
πασσόμενα.[1] Ταῦτα παρ' Ἰνδοῖσίν ἐστιν αὐτοῖσιν
ἰήματα.

XV. Τοῦ δὲ ἐλέφαντος τὸν τίγριν πολλόν τι
ἀλκιμώτερον Ἰνδοὶ ἄγουσι. Τίγριος δὲ δορὴν
μὲν ἰδεῖν λέγει Νέαρχος, αὐτὸν δὲ τίγριν, οὐκ
ἰδεῖν· ἀλλὰ τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς γὰρ ἀπηγέεσθαι, τίγριν
εἶναι μέγεθος μὲν ἡλίκον τὸν μέγιστον ἵππον, τὴν
δὲ ὠκύτητα καὶ ἀλκὴν οἵην οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ εἰκάσαι·
2 τίγριν γάρ, ἐπεὰν ὁμοῦ ἔλθῃ ἐλέφαντι, ἐπιπηδᾶν
τε ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ ἐλέφαντος καὶ ἄγχειν
3 εὐπετέως. Ταύτας δὲ ἄστινας καὶ ἡμεῖς ὁρέομεν
καὶ τίγριας καλέομεν, θῶας εἶναι αἰόλους καὶ
4 μέζονας ἤπερ τοὺς ἄλλους θῶας. Ἐπεὶ καὶ ὑπὲρ
τῶν μυρμήκων λέγει Νέαρχος μύρμηκα μὲν αὐτὸς
οὐκ ἰδέειν, ὁποῖον δή τινα μετεξέτεροι διέγραψαν
γίνεσθαι ἐν τῇ Ἰνδῶν γῇ, δορὰς δὲ καὶ τούτων
ἰδεῖν πολλὰς ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον κατακομισθείσας
5 τὸ Μακεδονικόν. Μεγασθένης δὲ καὶ ἀτρεκέα
εἶναι ὑπὲρ τῶν μυρμήκων τὸν λόγον ἱστορέει,

[1] Haupt's -πλασσόμενα is likely.

and horses, when certain pores about the temples of the females open and exhale; the female bears its offspring sixteen months at the least, eighteen at most; it has one foal, as does a mare; and this it suckles till its eighth year. The longest-lived elephants survive to two hundred years; but many die before that by disease; but as far as mere age goes, they reach this age. If their eyes are affected, cow's milk injected cures them; for their other sicknesses a draught of dark wine, and for their wounds swine's flesh roast, and laid on the spot, are good. These are the Indian remedies for them.

XV. The Indians regard the tiger as much stronger than the elephant. Nearchus writes that he had seen a tiger's skin, but no tiger; the Indians record that the tiger is in size as great as the largest horse, and its swiftness and strength without parallel, for a tiger, when it meets an elephant, leaps on to the head and easily throttles it. Those, however, which we see and call tigers are dappled jackals, but larger than ordinary jackals. Nay, about ants also Nearchus says that he himself saw no ant, of the sort which some writers have described as native of India; he saw, however, several of their skins brought into the Macedonian camp. Megasthenes, however, confirms the accounts given about these ants; that

τούτους εἶναι τοὺς τὸν χρυσὸν ὀρύσσοντας, οὐκ
αὐτοῦ τοῦ χρυσοῦ ἕνεκα, ἀλλὰ φύσι γὰρ κατὰ τῆς
γῆς ὀρύσσουσιν, ἵνα φωλεύοιεν, κατάπερ οἱ ἡμέτε-
ροι οἱ σμικροὶ μύρμηκες ὀλίγον τῆς γῆς ὀρύσσουσιν·
6 ἐκείνους δέ, εἶναι γὰρ ἀλωπέκων μέζονας, πρὸς
λόγον τοῦ μεγέθεος σφῶν καὶ τὴν γῆν ὀρύσσειν·
τὴν δὲ γῆν χρυσῖτιν εἶναι, καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης
7 γίνεσθαι Ἰνδοῖσι τὸν χρυσόν. Ἀλλὰ Μεγασ-
θένης τε ἀκοὴν ἀπηγέεται, καὶ ἐγὼ ὅτι οὐδὲν
τούτου ἀτρεκέστερον ἀναγράψαι ἔχω, ἀπίημι
8 ἑκὼν τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν μυρμήκων λόγον. Σιττακοὺς
δὲ Νέαρχος μὲν ὡς δή τι θῶμα ἀπηγέεται ὅτι
γίνονται ἐν τῇ Ἰνδῶν γῇ, καὶ ὁκοῖος ὄρνις ἐστὶν ὁ
9 σιττακός, καὶ ὅπως φωνὴν ἵει ἀνθρωπίνην. Ἐγὼ
δὲ ὅτι αὐτός τε πολλοὺς ὀπώπεα καὶ ἄλλους
ἐπισταμένους οἶδα τὸν ὄρνιθα, οὐδὲν ὡς ἀτόπου
δῆθεν διηγήσομαι· οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν πιθήκων τοῦ
μεγέθεος, ἢ ὅτι καλοὶ παρ' Ἰνδοῖς πίθηκοί εἰσιν,
οὐδὲ ὅκως θηρῶνται ἐρέω. Καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα
γνώριμα ἐρέω, πλήν γε δή, ὅτι καλοί που πίθηκοί
10 εἰσι. Καὶ ὄφιας δὲ λέγει Νέαρχος θηρευθῆναι
αἰόλους μὲν καὶ ταχέας· μέγεθος δέ, ὃν μὲν λέγει
ἑλεῖν Πείθωνα τὸν Ἀντιγένεος,[1] πήχεων ὡς
ἑκκαίδεκα· αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς πολὺ μέζονας
11 τούτων λέγειν εἶναι τοὺς μεγίστους ὄφιας. Ὅσοι
δὲ ἰητροὶ Ἕλληνες, τούτοισιν οὐδὲν ἄκος ἐξεύρη-
ται ὅστις ὑπὸ ὄφιος δηχθείη Ἰνδικοῦ· ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ
γὰρ οἱ Ἰνδοὶ ἰῶντο τοὺς πληγέντας· καὶ ἐπὶ
τῷδε Νέαρχος λέγει· συλλελεγμένους ἀμφ' αὐτὸν

[1] Query, Ἀγήνορος; but possibly under some textual corruption or gloss there lurks a πύθων or python. A (Vindobonensis) has Πύθωνα.

ants do dig up gold, not indeed for the gold, but as they naturally burrow, that they may make holes, just as our small ants excavate a small amount of earth; but these, which are bigger than foxes, dig up earth also proportionate to their size; the earth is auriferous, and thus the Indians get their gold. Megasthenes, however, merely quotes hearsay, and as I have no certainty to write on the subject, I readily dismiss this subject of ants. But Nearchus describes, as something miraculous, parrots, as being found in India, and describes the parrot, and how it utters a human voice. But I having seen several, and knowing others acquainted with this bird, shall not dilate on them as anything remarkable; nor yet upon the size of the apes, nor the beauty of some Indian apes, and the method of capture. For I should only say what everyone knows, except perhaps that apes are anywhere beautiful. And further Nearchus says that snakes are hunted there, dappled and swift; and that which he states Peithon son of Antigenes to have caught,[1] was upwards of sixteen cubits; but the Indians (he proceeds) state that the largest snakes are much larger than this. No Greek physicians have discovered a remedy against Indian snake-bite; but the Indians themselves used to cure those who were struck. And Nearchus adds

[1] The syntax does not make clear which was the victim. See critical note.

εἶχεν Ἀλέξανδρος Ἰνδῶν ὅσοι ἰητρικὴν σοφώτατοι, καὶ κεκήρυκτο ἀνὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον, ὅστις δηχθείη, ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν φοιτᾶν τὴν βασιλέος.
12 Οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων νούσων τε καὶ παθέων ἰητροὶ ἦσαν. Οὐ πολλὰ δὲ ἐν Ἰνδοῖσι πάθεα γίνεται, ὅτι αἱ ὧραι σύμμετροί εἰσιν αὐτόθι· εἰ δέ τι μέζον καταλαμβάνοι, τοῖσι σοφιστῇσιν ἀνεκοινοῦντο· καὶ ἐκεῖνοι οὐκ ἄνευ θεοῦ ἐδόκεον ἰῆσθαι ὅ τι περ ἰήσιμον.

XVI. Ἐσθῆτι δὲ Ἰνδοὶ λινέῃ χρέονται, κατάπερ λέγει Νέαρχος, λίνου τοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρεων, ὑπὲρ ὅτων μοι ἤδη λέλεκται. Τὸ δὲ λίνον τοῦτο ἢ λαμπρότερον τὴν χροιήν ἐστιν ἄλλου λίνου παντός, ἢ μέλανες αὐτοὶ ἐόντες λαμπρότερον τὸ
2 λίνον φαίνεσθαι ποιέουσιν. Ἔστι δὲ κιθὼν λίνεος αὐτοῖς ἔστε ἐπὶ μέσην τὴν κνήμην, εἷμα δὲ τὸ μὲν περὶ τοῖσιν ὤμοισι περιβεβλημένον, τὸ
3 δὲ περὶ τῇσι κεφαλῇσιν εἱλιγμένον. Καὶ ἐνώτια Ἰνδοὶ φορέουσιν ἐλέφαντος, ὅσοι κάρτα εὐδαί-
4 μονες· οὐ γὰρ πάντες Ἰνδοὶ φορέουσι. Τοὺς δὲ πώγωνας λέγει Νέαρχος ὅτι βάπτονται Ἰνδοί, χροιὴν δὴ ἄλλην καὶ ἄλλην· οἱ μέν, ὡς λευκοὺς φαίνεσθαι, οἵους λευκοτάτους, οἱ δὲ κυανέους· τοὺς δὲ φοινικέους εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ καὶ πορφυρέους,
5 ἄλλους πρασοειδέας. Καὶ σκιάδια ὅτι προβάλλονται τοῦ θέρεος ὅσοι οὐκ ἠμελημένοι Ἰνδῶν. Ὑποδήματα δὲ λευκοῦ δέρματος φορέουσι, περισσῶς καὶ ταῦτα ἠσκημένα· καὶ τὰ ἴχνεα τῶν ὑποδημάτων αὐτοῖσι ποικίλα καὶ ὑψηλά,
6 τοῦ μέζονας φαίνεσθαι. Ὁπλίσιος δὲ τῆς Ἰνδῶν οὐκ ὡυτὸς εἷς τρόπος, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν πεζοὶ αὐτοῖσι τόξον τε ἔχουσιν, ἰσόμηκες τῷ φορέοντι τὸ τόξον,

that Alexander had gathered about him Indians very skilled in physic, and orders were sent round the camp that anyone bitten by a snake was to report at the royal pavilion. But these same men cured other diseases and illnesses also. But there are not many illnesses in India, since the seasons are more temperate than with us. If anyone is seriously ill, they would inform their wise men, and they were thought to use the divine help to cure what could be cured.

XVI. The Indians wear linen garments, as Nearchus says, the linen[1] coming from the trees of which I have already made mention. This linen is either brighter than the whiteness of other linen, or the people's own blackness makes it appear unusually bright. They have a linen tunic to the middle of the calf, and for outer garments, one thrown round about their shoulders, and one wound round their heads. They wear ivory ear-rings, that is, the rich Indians; the common people do not use them. Nearchus writes that they dye their beards various colours; some therefore have these as white-looking as possible, others dark, others crimson, others purple, others grass-green. The more dignified Indians use sunshades against the summer heat. They have slippers of white skin, and these too made neatly; and the soles of their sandals are of different colours, and also high, so that the wearers seem taller. Indian war equipment differs; the infantry have a bow, of the height of the owner; this they poise on

[1] Really cotton.

καὶ τοῦτο κάτω ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν θέντες καὶ τῷ ποδὶ
τῷ ἀριστερῷ ἀντιβάντες, οὕτως ἐκτοξεύουσι, τὴν
7 νευρὴν ἐπὶ μέγα ὀπίσω ἀπαγαγόντες· ὁ γὰρ
ὀϊστὸς αὐτοῖσιν ὀλίγον ἀποδέων τριπήχεος, οὐδέ
τι ἀντέξει τοξευθὲν πρὸς Ἰνδοῦ ἀνδρὸς τοξικοῦ,
οὔτε ἀσπὶς οὔτε θώρηξ οὔτε εἴ τι καρτερὸν
8 ἐγένετο. Ἐν δὲ τῇσιν ἀριστερῇσι πέλται εἰσὶν
αὐτοῖσιν ὠμοβόϊναι, στεινότεραι μὲν ἢ κατὰ τοὺς
φορέοντας, μήκει δὲ οὐ πολλὸν ἀποδέουσαι.
9 Τοῖσι δὲ ἄκοντες ἀντὶ τόξων εἰσί. Μάχαιραν
δὲ πάντες φορέουσι, πλατέην δὲ καὶ τὸ μῆκος οὐ
μέζω τριπήχεος· καὶ ταύτην, ἐπεὰν συστάδην
καταστῇ αὐτοῖσιν ἡ μάχη (τὸ δὲ οὐκ εὐμαρέως
Ἰνδοῖσιν ἐς ἀλλήλους γίνεται) ἀμφοῖν ταῖν
χεροῖν καταφέρουσιν ἐς τὴν πληγήν, τοῦ καρ-
10 τερὴν τὴν πληγὴν γενέσθαι. Οἱ δὲ ἱππέες ἀκόντια
δύο αὐτοῖσιν ἔχουσιν, οἷα τὰ σαύνια ἀκόντια,
καὶ πέλτην σμικροτέρην τῶν πεζῶν. Οἱ δὲ
ἵπποι αὐτοῖσιν οὐ σεσαγμένοι εἰσίν, οὐδὲ
χαλινοῦνται τοῖσιν Ἑλληνικοῖσι χαλινοῖσιν ἢ
11 τοῖσι Κελτικοῖσιν ἐμφερέως, ἀλλὰ περὶ ἄκρῳ
τῷ στόματι τοῦ ἵππου ἐν κύκλῳ ἔχουσι δέρμα
ὠμοβόϊνον ῥαπτὸν περιηρτημένον· καὶ ἐν τούτῳ
χάλκεα κέντρα ἢ σιδήρεα, οὐ κάρτα ὀξέα, ἔσω
ἐστραμμένα· τοῖσι δὲ πλουσίοισιν ἐλεφάντινα
κέντρα ἐστίν· ἐν δὲ τῷ στόματι σίδηρον αὐτοῖσιν
οἱ ἵπποι ἔχουσιν, οἷόν περ ὀβελόν, ἔνθεν ἐξηρτη-
12 μένοι εἰσὶν αὐτοῖσιν οἱ ῥυτῆρες· ἐπεὰν ὦν ἐπα-
γάγωσι τὸν ῥυτῆρα, ὅ τε ὀβελὸς κρατέει τὸν
ἵππον, καὶ τὰ κέντρα, οἷα δὴ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἠρτημένα,
κεντέοντα οὐκ ἐᾷ ἄλλο τι ἢ πείθεσθαι τῷ
ῥυτῆρι.

the ground, and set their left foot against it, and shoot thus; drawing the bowstring a very long way back; for their arrows are little short of three cubits, and nothing can stand against an arrow shot by an Indian archer, neither shield nor breastplate nor any strong armour. In their left hands they carry small shields of untanned hide, narrower than their bearers, but not much shorter. Some have javelins in place of bows. All carry a broad scimitar, its length not under three cubits; and this, when they have a hand-to-hand fight—and Indians do not readily fight so among themselves—they bring down with both hands in smiting, so that the stroke may be an effective one. Their horsemen have two javelins, like lances, and a small shield smaller than the infantry's. The horses have no saddles, nor do they use Greek bits nor any like the Celtic bits, but round the end of the horses' mouths they have an untanned stitched rein fitted; in this they have fitted, on the inner side, bronze or iron spikes, but rather blunted; the rich people have ivory spikes; within the mouth of the horses is a bit, like a spit, to either end of which the reins are attached. Then when they tighten the reins this bit masters the horse, and the spikes, being attached thereto, prick the horse and compel it to obey the rein.

XVII. Τὰ δὲ σώματα ἰσχνοί τε εἰσὶν οἱ Ἰνδοὶ καὶ εὐμήκεες, καὶ κοῦφοι πολλόν τι ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους. Ὀχήματα δὲ τοῖσι μὲν πολλοῖσιν Ἰνδῶν κάμηλοί εἰσι καὶ ἵπποι καὶ ὄνοι,
2 τοῖσι δὲ εὐδαίμοσιν ἐλέφαντες. Βασιλικὸν γὰρ ὄχημα ὁ ἐλέφας παρ' Ἰνδοῖσίν ἐστι· δεύτερον δὲ τιμῇ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὰ τέθριππα, τρίτον δὲ αἱ κάμηλοι· τὸ δὲ ἐπ' ἑνὸς ἵππου ὀχέεσθαι ἄτιμον.
3 Αἱ γυναῖκες δὲ αὐτοῖσιν, ὅσαι κάρτα σώφρονες, ἐπὶ μὲν ἄλλῳ μισθῷ οὐκ ἄν τι διαμάρτοιεν, ἐλέφαντα δὲ λαβοῦσα γυνὴ μίσγεται τῷ δόντι· οὐδὲ αἰσχρὸν Ἰνδοὶ ἄγουσι τὸ ἐπὶ ἐλέφαντι μιγῆναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ σεμνὸν δοκέει τῇσι γυναιξὶν,
4 ἀξίην τὸ κάλλος φανῆναι ἐλέφαντος. Γαμέουσι δὲ οὔτε τι διδόντες οὔτε λαμβάνοντες, ἀλλὰ ὅσαι ἤδη ὡραῖαι γάμου, ταύτας οἱ πατέρες προάγοντες ἐς τὸ ἐμφανὲς κατιστᾶσιν ἐκλέξασθαι τῷ νικήσαντι πάλην ἢ πὺξ ἢ δρόμον, ἢ κατ'
5 ἄλλην τινὰ ἀνδρίην προκριθέντι. Σιτοφάγοι δὲ καὶ ἀροτῆρες Ἰνδοί εἰσιν, ὅσοι γε μὴ ὄρειοι αὐτῶν· οὗτοι δὲ τὰ θήρεια κρέα σιτέονται.
6 Ταῦτά μοι ἀπόχρη δεδηλῶσθαι ὑπὲρ Ἰνδῶν, ὅσα γνωριμώτατα Νέαρχός τε καὶ Μεγασθένης,
7 δοκίμω ἄνδρε, ἀνεγραψάτην· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲ ἡ ὑπόθεσίς μοι τῇσδε τῆς ξυγγραφῆς τὰ Ἰνδῶν νόμιμα ἀναγράψαι ἦν, ἀλλ' ὅπως γὰρ παρεκομίσθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐς Πέρσας ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ὁ στόλος, ταῦτα δή μοι ἐκβολὴ ἔστω τοῦ λόγου.

XVIII. Ἀλέξανδρος γάρ, ἐπειδή οἱ παρεσκεύαστο τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ὑδάσπεω τῇσιν ὄχθῃσιν, ἐπιλεγόμενος ὅσοι τε Φοινίκων καὶ ὅσοι Κύπριοι ἢ Αἰγύπτιοι εἵποντο ἐν τῇ ἄνω

XVII. The Indians in shape are thin and tall and much lighter in movement than the rest of mankind. They usually ride on camels, horses, and asses; the richer men on elephants. For the elephant in India is a royal mount; then next in dignity is a four-horse chariot, and camels come third; to ride on a single horse is low. Their women, such as are of great modesty, can be seduced by no other gift, but yield themselves to anyone who gives an elephant; and the Indians think it no disgrace to yield thus on the gift of an elephant, but rather it seems honourable for a woman that her beauty should be valued at an elephant. They marry neither giving anything nor receiving anything; such girls as are marriageable their fathers bring out and allow anyone who proves victorious in wrestling or boxing or running or shows pre-eminence in any other manly pursuit to choose among them. The Indians eat meal and till the ground, except the mountaineers; but these eat the flesh of game. This must be enough for a description of the Indians, being the most notable things which Nearchus and Megasthenes, men of credit, have recorded about them. But as the main subject of this my history was not to write an account of the Indian customs but the way in which Alexander's navy reached Persia from India, this must all be accounted a digression.

XVIII. For Alexander, when his fleet was made ready on the banks of the Hydaspes, collected together all the Phoenicians and all the Cyprians and Egyptians who had followed the northern expedition.

στρατηλασίῃ, ἐκ τούτων ἐπλήρου τὰς νέας,
ὑπηρεσίας τε αὐτῇσι καὶ ἐρέτας ἐπιλεγόμενος,
2 ὅσοι τῶν θαλασσίων ἔργων δαήμονες. Ἦσαν δὲ
καὶ νησιῶται ἄνδρες οὐκ ὀλίγοι ἐν τῇ στρατιῇ,
οἷσι ταῦτα ἔμελε, καὶ Ἴωνες καὶ Ἑλλησπόντιοι.
3 Τριήραρχοι δὲ αὐτῷ ἐπεστάθησαν, ἐκ Μακεδόνων
μὲν Ἡφαιστίων[1] τε Ἀμύντορος, καὶ Λεόννατος
ὁ Εὔνου, καὶ Λυσίμαχος ὁ Ἀγαθοκλέους, καὶ
Ἀσκληπιόδωρος ὁ Τιμάνδρου, καὶ Ἄρχων ὁ
Κλεινίου, καὶ Δημόνικος ὁ Ἀθηναίου, καὶ Ἀρχίας
ὁ Ἀναξιδότου, καὶ Ὀφέλλας Σειληνοῦ, καὶ
4 Τιμάνθης Παντιάδου· οὗτοι μὲν Πελλαῖοι. Ἐκ
δὲ Ἀμφιπόλεως ἦγον οἵδε· Νέαρχος Ἀνδροτίμου,
ὃς τὰ ἀμφὶ τῷ παράπλῳ ἀνέγραψε· καὶ Λαο-
μέδων ὁ Λαρίχου, καὶ Ἀνδροσθένης Καλλιστρά-
5 του· ἐκ δὲ Ὀρεστίδος Κρατερός τε ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρου,
καὶ Περδίκκας ὁ Ὀρώντεω. Ἐορδαῖοί τε Πτολε-
μαῖός τε ὁ Λάγου καὶ Ἀριστόνους ὁ Πεισαίου.
Ἐκ Πύδνης τε Μήτρων τε ὁ Ἐπιχάρμου, καὶ
6 Νικαρχίδης ὁ Σίμου. Ἐπὶ δὲ Ἄτταλός τε ὁ
Ἀνδρομένεω, Στυμφαῖος, καὶ Πευκέστας Ἀλεξ-
άνδρου, Μιεζεύς, καὶ Πείθων Κρατεύα, Ἀλκο-
μενεύς, καὶ Λεοννάτος Ἀντιπάτρου, Αἰγαῖος, καὶ
Πάνταυχος Νικολάου, Ἀλωρίτης, καὶ Μυλλέας
Ζωΐλου, Βεροιαῖος· οὗτοι μὲν οἱ ξύμπαντες Μακε-
7 δόνες. Ἑλλήνων δὲ Μήδιος μὲν Ὀξυνθέμιδος,
Λαρισσαῖος, Εὐμένης δὲ Ἱερωνύμου, ἐκ Καρδίης,
Κριτόβουλος δὲ Πλάτωνος, Κῷος, καὶ Θόας
Μηνοδώρου, καὶ Μαίανδρος Μανδρογένεος, Μάγ-

[1] Many names of this chapter have been emended from known sources. A. makes several mistakes, such as Λαμπίδων for Λαομέδων.

From these he manned his ships, picking out as crews and rowers for them any who were skilled in seafaring. There were also a good many islanders in the army, who understood these things, and Ionians and Hellespontines. As commanders of triremes were appointed, from the Macedonians, Hephaestion son of Amyntor, and Leonnatus son of Eunous, Lysimachus son of Agathocles, and Asclepiodorus son of Timander, and Archon son of Cleinias, and Demonicus son of Athenaeus, Archias son of Anaxidotus, Ophellas son of Seilenus, Timanthes son of Pantiades; all these were of Pella. From Amphipolis these were appointed officers: Nearchus son of Androtimus, who wrote the account of the voyage; and Laomedon son of Larichus, and Androsthenes son of Callistratus; and from Orestis, Craterus son of Alexander, and Perdiccas son of Orontes. Of Eordaea, Ptolemaeus son of Lagos and Aristonous son of Peisaeus; from Pydna, Metron son of Epicharmus and Nicarchides son of Simus. Then besides, Attalus son of Andromenes, of Stympha; Peucestas son of Alexander, from Mieza; Peithon son of Crateuas, of Alcomenae; Leonnatus son of Antipater, of Aegae; Pantauchus son of Nicolaus, of Aloris; Mylleas son of Zoilus, of Beroea; all these being Macedonians. Of Greeks, Medius son of Oxynthemis, of Larisa; Eumenes son of Hieronymus, from Cardia; Critobulus son of Plato, of Cos; Thoas son of Menodorus, and Maeander, son of Mandro-

8 νητες. Ἄνδρων δὲ Καβήλεω, Τήιος, Κυπρίων
δὲ Νικοκλέης Πασικράτεος, Σόλιος, καὶ Νιθάφων
Πνυταγόρεω, Σαλαμίνιος. Ἦν δὲ δὴ καὶ Πέρσης
9 αὐτῷ τριήραρχος, Βαγώας ὁ Φαρνουχέως· τῆς
δὲ αὐτοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου νεὸς κυβερνήτης ἦν Ὀνη-
σίκριτος Ἀστυπαλαιεύς· γραμματεὺς δὲ τοῦ
στόλου παντὸς Εὐαγόρας Εὐκλέωνος, Κορίνθιος.
10 Ναύαρχος δὲ αὐτοῖσιν ἐπεστάθη Νέαρχος Ἀνδρο-
τίμου, τὸ γένος μὲν Κρὴς ὁ Νέαρχος, ᾤκεε δὲ ἐν
11 Ἀμφιπόλει τῇ ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι. Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα
ἐκεκόσμητο Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ἔθυε τοῖσι θεοῖσιν ὅσοι
τε πάτριοι ἢ μαντευτοὶ αὐτῷ, καὶ Ποσειδῶνι καὶ
Ἀμφιτρίτῃ καὶ Νηρηΐσι καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ Ὠκεανῷ,
καὶ τῷ Ὑδάσπῃ ποταμῷ, ἀπὸ τοῦ ὡρμᾶτο, καὶ
τῷ Ἀκεσίνῃ, ἐς ὅντινα ἐκδιδοῖ Ὑδάσπης, καὶ τῷ
12 Ἰνδῷ, ἐς ὅντινα ἄμφω ἐκδιδοῦσιν· ἀγῶνές τε
αὐτῷ μουσικοὶ καὶ γυμνικοὶ ἐποιεῦντο, καὶ ἱερήϊα
τῇ στρατιῇ πάσῃ κατὰ τέλεα ἐδίδοτο.

XIX. Ὡς δὲ πάντα ἐξήρτυτο αὐτῷ εἰς ἀναγω-
γήν, Κράτερον μὲν τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ Ὑδάσπεω
ἰέναι σὺν τῇ στρατιῇ ἐκέλευσε πεζικῇ τε καὶ
ἱππικῇ· ἐς τὸ ἐπὶ θάτερα δὲ Ἡφαιστίων αὐτῷ
παρεπορεύετο, σὺν ἄλλῃ στρατιῇ πλείονι ἔτι τῆς
τῷ Κρατέρῳ συντεταγμένης. Καὶ τοὺς ἐλέ-
φαντας Ἡφαιστίων αὐτῷ ἦγεν, ὄντας ἐς διηκο-
2 σίους. Αὐτὸς δὲ τούς τε ὑπασπιστὰς καλεο-
μένους ἅμα οἷ ἦγε, καὶ τοὺς τοξότας πάντας,
καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τοὺς ἑταίρους καλεομένους· τοὺς
3 πάντας ἐς ὀκτακισχιλίους. Τοῖσι μὲν δὴ ἀμφὶ
Κράτερον καὶ Ἡφαιστίωνα ἐτέτακτο, ἵνα προ-
4 πορευθέντες ὑπομένοιεν τὸν στόλον. Φίλιππον
δέ, ὃς αὐτῷ σατράπης τῆς χώρης ταύτης ἦν, ἐπὶ

genes, of Magnesia; Andron son of Cabeleus, of Teos; of Cyprians, Nicocles son of Pasicrates, of Soli; and Nithaphon son of Pnytagoras, of Salamis. Alexander appointed also a Persian trierarch, Bagoas son of Pharnuces; but of Alexander's own ship the helmsman was Onesicritus of Astypalaea; and the accountant of the whole fleet was Euagoras son of Eucleon, of Corinth. As admiral was appointed Nearchus, son of Androtimus, Cretan by race, and he lived in Amphipolis on the Strymon. And when Alexander had made all these dispositions, he sacrificed to the gods, both the gods of his race, and all of whom the prophets had warned him, and to Poseidon and Amphitrite and the Nereids, and to Ocean himself and to the river Hydaspes, whence he started, and to the Acesines, into which the Hydaspes runs, and to the Indus, into which both run; and he instituted contests of art and of athletics, and victims for sacrifice were given to all the army, according to their detachments.

XIX. Then when he had made all ready for starting the voyage, Alexander ordered Craterus to march by the one side of the Hydaspes with his army, cavalry and infantry alike; Hephaestion had already started along the other, with another army even bigger than that under Craterus. Hephaestion took with him the elephants, up to the number of two hundred. Alexander himself took with him all the peltasts, as they are called, and all the archers, and of the cavalry, those called "Companions"; in all, eight thousand. But Craterus and Hephaestion, with their forces, were ordered to march ahead and await the fleet. But he sent Philip, whom he had made satrap of this country, to the banks of the river

τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου ποταμοῦ τὰς ὄχθας πέμπει, ἅμα
5 στρατιῇ πολλῇ καὶ τοῦτον· ἤδη γὰρ καὶ δώδεκα
μυριάδες αὐτῷ μάχιμοι εἵποντο σὺν οἷς ἀπὸ
θαλάσσης τε αὐτὸς ἀνήγαγε καὶ αὖθις οἱ ἐπὶ
συλλογὴν αὐτῷ στρατιῆς πεμφθέντες ἧκον
ἔχοντες, παντοῖα ἔθνεα βαρβαρικὰ ἅμα οἷ
6 ἄγοντι, καὶ πᾶσαν ἰδέην ὡπλισμένα. Αὐτὸς δὲ
ἄρας ταῖσι νηυσὶ κατέπλει κατὰ τὸν Ὑδάσπεα
ἔστε ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου τε καὶ τοῦ Ὑδάσπεω τὰς
7 συμβολάς. Νέες δὲ αἱ σύμπασαι αὐτῷ χίλιαι
καὶ ὀκτακόσιαι ἦσαν, αἵ τε μακραὶ καὶ ὅσα
στρογγύλα πλοῖα καὶ ἄλλα ἱππαγωγὰ καὶ σιτία
8 ἅμα τῇ στρατιῇ ἄγουσαι. Ὅκως μὲν δὴ κατὰ
τοὺς ποταμοὺς διέπλωσεν αὐτῷ ὁ στόλος, καὶ
ὅσα ἐν τῷ παράπλῳ ἔθνεα κατεστρέψατο, καὶ
ὅκως διὰ κινδύνου αὐτὸς ἐν Μαλλοῖσιν ἦκε, καὶ
τὸ τρῶμα ὃ ἐτρώθη ἐν Μαλλοῖσι, καὶ Πευκέστας
τε καὶ Λεόννατος ὅκως ὑπερήσπισαν αὐτὸν
πεσόντα, πάντα ταῦτα λέλεκταί μοι ἤδη ἐν τῇ
9 ἄλλῃ τῇ Ἀττικῇ ξυγγραφῇ· Ὁ δὲ λόγος ὅδε
τοῦ παράπλου μοι ἀπήγησίς ἐστιν, ὃν Νέαρχος
σὺν τῷ στόλῳ παρέπλωσεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ τῶν
ἐκβολέων ὁρμηθεὶς κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν
μεγάλην ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸν κόλπον τὸν Περσικόν, ἣν
δὴ Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν μετεξέτεροι καλέουσι.

XX. Νεάρχῳ δὲ λέλεκται ὑπὲρ τούτων ὅδε ὁ
λόγος· πόθον μὲν εἶναι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐκπεριπλῶσαι τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν ἀπὸ Ἰνδῶν ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν
2 Περσικήν, ὀκνέειν δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦ τε πλόου τὸ
μῆκος καὶ μή τινι ἄρα χώρῃ ἐρήμῳ ἐγκύρσαντες
ἢ ὅρμων ἀπόρῳ ἢ οὐ ξυμμέτρως ἐχούσῃ τῶν
ὡραίων, οὕτω δὴ διαφθαρῇ αὐτῷ ὁ στόλος, καὶ

Acesines, Philip also with a considerable force; for by this time a hundred and twenty thousand men of fighting age were following him, together with those whom he himself had brought from the sea-coast; and with those also whom his officers, sent to recruit forces, had brought back; so that he now led all sorts of Oriental tribes, and armed in every sort of fashion. Then he himself loosing his ships sailed down the Hydaspes to the meeting-place of Acesines and Hydaspes. His whole fleet of ships was eighteen hundred, both ships of war and merchantmen, and horse transports besides and others bringing provisions together with the troops. And how his fleet descended the rivers, and the tribes he conquered on the descent, and how he endangered himself among the Mallians, and the wound he there received, then the way in which Peucestas and Leonnatus defended him as he lay there—all this I have related already in my other history, written in the Attic dialect. This my present work, however, is a story of the voyage, which Nearchus successfully undertook with his fleet starting from the mouths of the Indus by the Ocean to the Persian Gulf, which some call the Red Sea.

XX. On this Nearchus writes thus: Alexander had a vehement desire to sail the sea which stretches from India to Persia; but he disliked the length of the voyage and feared lest, meeting with some country desert or without roadsteads, or not properly provided with the fruits of the earth, his whole fleet might be destroyed; and this, being no small blot

οὐ φαύλη κηλὶς αὕτη τοῖσιν ἔργοισιν αὐτοῦ τοῖσι
μεγάλοισιν ἐπιγενομένη τὴν πᾶσαν εὐτυχίην
αὐτῷ ἀφανίσοι· ἀλλὰ ἐκνικῆσαι γὰρ αὐτῷ τὴν
ἐπιθυμίην τοῦ καινόν τι αἰεὶ καὶ ἄτοπον ἐργά-
3 ζεσθαι. Ἀπόρως δὲ ἔχειν, ὅντινα οὐκ ἀδύνατόν
τε ἐς τὰ ἐπινοεύμενα ἐπιλέξαιτο, καὶ ἅμα τῶν
ἐν νηῒ ἀνδρῶν, ὡς καὶ τῶν τοιοῦτον στόλον στελ-
λομένων ἀφελεῖν τὸ δεῖμα τοῦ δὴ ἠμελημένως
αὐτοὺς ἐς προὖπτον κίνδυνον ἐκπέμπεσθαι.
4 Λέγει δὴ ὁ Νέαρχος, ἑωυτῷ ξυνοῦσθαι τὸν
Ἀλέξανδρον, ὅντινα προχειρίσηται ἐξηγέεσθαι
τοῦ στόλου· ὡς δὲ ἄλλου καὶ ἄλλου εἰς μνήμην
ἰόντα τοὺς μὲν ὡς οὐκ ἐθέλοντας κινδυνεύειν ὑπὲρ
οὗ ἀπολέγειν, τοὺς δὲ ὡς μαλακοὺς τὸν θυμόν,
τοὺς δὲ ὡς πόθῳ τῆς οἰκηίης κατεχομένους, τοῖσι
5 δὲ ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο ἐπικαλέοντα· τότε δὴ αὐτὸν
ὑποστάντα εἰπεῖν, ὅτι Ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐγώ τοι
ὑποδέκομαι ἐξηγήσασθαι τοῦ στόλου, καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ
τοῦ θεοῦ ξυνεπιλαμβάνοι· περιάξω τοι σώας τὰς
νέας καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν Περσίδα
γῆν, εἰ δὴ πλωτός τε ἐστὶν ὁ ταύτῃ πόντος καὶ
6 τὸ ἔργον οὐκ ἄπορον γνώμῃ ἀνθρωπίνῃ. Ἀλέξ-
ανδρον δὲ λόγῳ μὲν οὐ φάναι ἐθέλειν ἐς τοσήνδε
ταλαιπωρίην καὶ τοσόνδε κίνδυνον τῶν τινα
ἑωυτοῦ φίλων ἐμβάλλειν, αὐτὸν δὲ ταύτῃ δὴ καὶ
7 μᾶλλον οὐκ ἀνιέναι, ἀλλὰ λιπαρέειν. Οὕτω δὴ
ἀγαπῆσαί τε Ἀλέξανδρον τοῦ Νεάρχου τὴν
προθυμίην, καὶ ἐπιστῆσαι αὐτὸν ἄρχειν τοῦ
8 στόλου παντός· καὶ τότε δὴ ἔτι μᾶλλον τῆς
στρατιῆς ὅτι περ ἐπὶ τῷ παράπλῳ τῷδε ἐτάσ-
σετο καὶ τὰς ὑπηρεσίας ἵλεω ἔχειν τὴν γνώμην,
ὅτι δὴ Νέαρχόν γε οὔποτε ἂν Ἀλέξανδρος προή-

on his great achievements, might wreck all his happiness; but yet his desire to do something unusual and strange won the day; still, he was in doubt whom he should choose, as equal to his designs; and also as the right man to encourage the personnel of the fleet, sent as they were on an expedition of this kind, so that they should not feel that they were being sent blindly to manifest dangers. And Nearchus says that Alexander discussed with him whom he should select to be admiral of this fleet; but as mention was made of one and another, and as Alexander rejected some, as not willing to risk themselves for his sake, others as chicken-hearted, others as consumed by desire for home, and finding some objection to each; then Nearchus himself spoke and pledged himself thus: "O King, I undertake to lead your fleet! And may God help the emprise! I will bring your ships and men safe to Persia, if this sea is so much as navigable and the undertaking not above human powers." Alexander, however, replied that he would not allow one of his friends to run such risks and endure such distress; yet Nearchus did not slacken in his request, but besought Alexander earnestly; till at length Alexander accepted Nearchus' willing spirit, and appointed him admiral of the entire fleet, on which the part of the army which was detailed to sail on this voyage and the crews felt easier in mind, being sure that Alexander would never have exposed

κατο ἐς κίνδυνον καταφανέα, εἰ μή σφι σωθή-
9 σεσθαι ἔμελλον· λαμπρότης τε πολλὴ τῇ παρα-
σκευῇ ἐπεοῦσα καὶ κόσμος τῶν νεῶν, καὶ σπουδαὶ
τῶν τριηράρχων ἀμφὶ τὰς ὑπηρεσίας τε καὶ τὰ
πληρώματα ἐκπρεπέες καὶ τοὺς πάντη δὴ πάλαι
κατοκνέοντας ἐς ῥώμην ἅμα καὶ ἐλπίδας χρησ-
τοτέρας ὑπὲρ τοῦ παντὸς ἔργου ἐπηρκότα ἦν·
10 πολλὸν δὲ δὴ συνεπιλαβέσθαι ἐς εὐθυμίην τῇ
στρατιῇ τὸ δὴ αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὁρμηθέντα
κατὰ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ τὰ στόματα ἀμφότερα ἐκπλῶσαι
ἐς τὸν πόντον, σφάγιά τε τῷ Ποσειδῶνι ἐντεμεῖν
καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι θεοὶ θαλάσσιοι, καὶ δῶρα
11 μεγαλοπρεπέα τῇ θαλάσσῃ χαρίσασθαι· τῇ τε
ἄλλῃ τῇ Ἀλεξάνδρου παραλόγῳ εὐτυχίῃ πεποι-
θότας οὐδὲν ὅ, τι οὐ τολμητόν τε ἐκείνῳ καὶ ἐρκτὸν
ἐξηγέεσθαι.

XXI. Ὡς δὲ τὰ ἐτήσια πνεύματα ἐκοιμήθη, ἃ
δὴ τοῦ θέρεος τὴν ὥρην πᾶσαν κατέχει ἐκ τοῦ
πελάγεος ἐπιπνέοντα ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ ταύτῃ
ἄπορον τὸν πλόον ποιέοντα, τότε δὴ ὥρμηντο ἐπὶ
ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Κηφισοδώρου, εἰκάδι τοῦ
Βοηδρομιῶνος μηνός, κατότι Ἀθηναῖοι ἄγουσιν·
ὡς δὲ Μακεδόνες τε καὶ Ἀσιανοὶ ἦγον, * *[1] τὸ
2 ἑνδέκατον βασιλεύοντος Ἀλεξάνδρου. Θύει δὲ
καὶ Νέαρχος πρὸ τῆς ἀναγωγῆς Διὶ Σωτῆρι, καὶ
ἀγῶνα ποιέει καὶ οὗτος γυμνικόν. Ἄραντες δὲ
ἀπὸ τοῦ ναυστάθμου τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρῃ κατὰ τὸν
Ἰνδὸν ὁρμίζονται ποταμὸν πρὸς διώρυχι μεγάλῃ,
καὶ μένουσιν αὐτοῦ δύο ἡμέρας· Στοῦρα δὲ ἦν
οὔνομα τῷ χώρῳ· στάδιοι ἀπὸ τοῦ ναυστάθμου
3 ἐς ἑκατόν. Τῇ τρίτῃ δὲ ἄραντες ἔπλωον ἔστε

[1] After ἦγον lacuna marked by Vulcanius (ed. 1575).

Nearchus to obvious danger unless they also were to come through safe. Then the splendour of the whole preparations and the smart equipment of the ships, and the outstanding enthusiasm of the commanders of the triremes about the different services and the crews had uplifted even those who a short while ago were hesitating, both to bravery and to higher hopes about the whole affair; and besides it contributed not a little to the general good spirits of the force that Alexander himself had started down the Indus and had explored both outlets, even into the Ocean, and had offered victims to Poseidon, and all the other sea gods, and gave splendid gifts to the sea. Then trusting as they did in Alexander's generally remarkable good fortune, they felt that there was nothing that he might not dare, and nothing that he could not carry through.

XXI. Now when the trade winds had sunk to rest, which continue blowing from the Ocean to the land all the summer season, and hence render the voyage impossible, they put to sea, in the archonship at Athens of Cephisodorus, on the twentieth day of the month Boedromion, as the Athenians reckon it; but as the Macedonians and Asians counted it, it was . . . the eleventh year of Alexander's reign.[1] Nearchus also sacrificed, before weighing anchor, to Zeus the Saviour, and he too held an athletic contest. Then moving out from their roadstead, they anchored on the first day in the Indus river near a great canal, and remained there two days; the district was called Stura; it was about a hundred stades from the roadstead. Then on the third day they started forth

[1] A name of a month has been lost. It was probably October 326, though Droysen fixes the date as September 325.

ἐπὶ διώρυχα ἄλλην σταδίους τριήκοντα, ἁλμυρὴν
ἤδη ταύτην τὴν διώρυχα· ἀνήει γὰρ ἡ θάλασσα
ἐς αὐτήν, μάλιστα μὲν ἐν τῇσι πλημμυρίῃσιν,
ὑπέμενε δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇσιν ἀμπώτεσι τὸ ὕδωρ
μεμιγμένον τῷ ποταμῷ· Καύμαρα δὲ ἦν οὔνομα
4 τῷ χώρῳ. Ἔνθεν δὲ εἴκοσι σταδίους καταπλώ-
σαντες ἐς Κορέεστιν ὁρμίζονται ἔτι κατὰ τὸν
5 ποταμόν. Ἔνθεν δὲ ὁρμηθέντες ἔπλωον οὐκ ἐπὶ
πολλόν· ἕρμα γὰρ ἐφάνη αὐτοῖσι κατὰ τὴν
ἐκβολὴν τὴν ταύτῃ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ, καὶ τὰ κύματα
ἐρρόχθεε πρὸς τῇ ἠιόνι, καὶ ἡ ἠιὼν αὕτη τραχέα
6 ἦν. Ἀλλὰ ἵναπερ μαλθακὸν ἦν τοῦ ἕρματος,
ταύτῃ διώρυχα ποιήσαντες ἐπὶ σταδίους πέντε,
διῆγον τὰς νέας, ἐπειδὴ ἡ πλήμμυρα ἐπῆλθεν ἡ
7 ἐκ τοῦ πόντου. Ἐκπεριπλώσαντες δὲ σταδίους
πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ὁρμίζονται ἐς Κρώκαλα
νῆσον ἀμμώδεα, καὶ μένουσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἄλλην
8 ἡμέρην· προσοικέει δὲ ταύτῃ ἔθνος Ἰνδικόν, οἱ
Ἀράβιες καλεόμενοι, ὧν καὶ ἐν τῇ μέζονι ξυγ-
γραφῇ μνήμην ἔσχον· καὶ ὅτι εἰσὶν ἐπώνυμοι
ποταμοῦ Ἀράβιος, ὃς διὰ τῆς γῆς αὐτῶν ῥέων
ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς θάλασσαν, ὁρίζων τούτων τε τὴν χώρην
9 καὶ τῶν Ὠρειτέων. Ἐκ δὲ Κρωκάλων ἐν δεξιῇ
μὲν ἔχοντες ὄρος τὸ καλεόμενον αὐτοῖσιν Εἶρον,
ἐν ἀριστερῇ δὲ νῆσον ἁλιτενέα ἔπλωον· ἡ δὲ
νῆσος παρατεταμένη τῇ ἠιόνι κόλπον στεινὸν
10 ποιέει. Διεκπλώσαντες δὲ ταύτην ὁρμίζονται ἐν
λιμένι εὐόρμῳ· ὅτι δὲ μέγας τε καὶ καλὸς ὁ λιμὴν
Νεάρχῳ ἔδοξεν, ἐπονομάζει αὐτὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου
11 λιμένα. Νῆσος δέ ἐστιν ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ
λιμένος ὅσον σταδίους δύο ἀπέχουσα· Βίβακτα
οὔνομα τῇ νήσῳ· ὁ δὲ χῶρος ἅπας Σάγγαδα· ἡ

and sailed to another canal, thirty stades' distance, and this canal was already salt; for the sea came up into it, especially at full tides, and then at the ebb the water remained there, mingled with the river water. This place was called Caumara. Thence they sailed twenty stades and anchored at Coreëstis, still on the river. Thence they started again and sailed not so very far, for they saw a reef at this outlet of the river Indus, and the waves were breaking violently on the shore, and the shore itself was very rough. But where there was a softer part of the reef, they dug a channel, five stades long, and brought the ships down it, when the flood tide came up from the sea. Then sailing round, to a distance of a hundred and fifty stades, they anchored at a sandy island called Crocala, and stayed there through the next day; and there lives here an Indian race called Arabeans, of whom I made mention in my larger history; and that they have their name from the river Arabis, which runs through their country and finds its outlet in the sea, forming the boundary between this country and that of the Oreitans. From Crocala, keeping on the right hand the hill they call Irus, they sailed on, with a low-lying island on their left; and the island running parallel with the shore makes a narrow bay. Then when they had sailed through this, they anchored in a harbour with good anchorage; and as Nearchus considered the harbour a large and fine one, he called it Alexander's Haven. At the heads of the harbour there lies an island, about two stades away, called Bibacta; the neighbouring region, however, is called Sangada.

δὲ νῆσος καὶ τὸν λιμένα, προκειμένη πρὸ τοῦ
12 πελάγεος, αὐτὴ ἐποίεεν. Ἐνταῦθα πνεύματα
μεγάλα ἐκ τοῦ πόντου ἔπνεε καὶ συνεχέα, καὶ
Νέαρχος δείσας τῶν βαρβάρων μή τινες συνταχ-
θέντες ἐπ' ἁρπαγὴν τοῦ στρατοπέδου τραποίατο,
13 ἐκτειχίζει τὸν χῶρον λιθίνῳ τείχει. Τέσσαρες
δὲ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἡμέραι τῇ μονῇ ἐγένοντο· καὶ λέγει
ὅτι μύας τε ἐθήρων τοὺς θαλασσίους οἱ στρατιῶ-
ται, καὶ ὄστρεα δὲ καὶ τοὺς σωλῆνας καλεομένους,
ἄτοπα τὸ μέγεθος, ὡς τοῖσιν ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡμετέρῃ
θαλάσσῃ συμβαλέειν· καὶ ὕδωρ ὅτι ἁλμυρὸν
ἐπίνετο.

XXII. Ἅμα τε ὁ ἄνεμος ἐπαύσατο καὶ οἳ
ἀνήγοντο· καὶ περαιωθέντες σταδίους ἐς ἑξή-
κοντα ὁρμίζονται πρὸς αἰγιαλῷ ψαμμώδεϊ· νῆσος
2 δὲ ἐπῆν τῷ αἰγιαλῷ ἐρήμη. Ταύτην δὲ πρόβλη-
μα ποιησάμενοι ὡρμίσθησαν· Δόμαι οὔνομα τῇ
νήσῳ· ὕδωρ δὲ οὐκ ἦν ἐν τῷ αἰγιαλῷ, ἀλλὰ
προελθόντες ἐς τὴν μεσογαίην ὅσον εἴκοσι
3 σταδίους ἐπιτυγχάνουσιν ὕδατι καλῷ. Τῇ δὲ
ὑστεραίῃ ἐς νύκτα αὐτοῖσιν ὁ πλόος ἐγίνετο ἐς
Σάραγγα σταδίους τριηκοσίους, καὶ ὁρμίζονται
πρὸς αἰγιαλῷ, καὶ ὕδωρ ἦν ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ
4 ὅσον ὀκτὼ σταδίους. Ἔνθεν δὲ πλώσαντες
ὁρμίζονται ἐν Σακάλοισι, τόπῳ ἐρήμῳ· καὶ
διεκπλώσαντες[1] σκοπέλους δύο, οὕτω τι ἀλλή-
λοισι πελάζοντας, ὥστε τοὺς ταρσοὺς τῶν νεῶν
ἅπτεσθαι ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν τῶν πετρέων, καθορμί-
ζονται ἐν Μοροντοβάροισι, σταδίους διελθόντες
5 ἐς τριηκοσίους· ὁ δὲ λιμὴν μέγας καὶ εὔκυκλος
καὶ βαθὺς καὶ ἄκλυστος· ὁ δὲ ἔσπλους ἐς αὐτὸν

[1] A, δὴ ἐκπλώσαντες.

This island, forming a barrier to the sea, of itself makes a harbour. There constant strong winds were blowing off the ocean. Nearchus therefore, fearing lest some of the natives might collect to plunder the camp, surrounded the place with a stone wall. He stayed there thirty-three days; and through that time, he says, the soldiers hunted for mussels, oysters, and razor-fish, as they are called; they were all of unusual size, much larger than those of our seas. They also drank briny water.

XXII. On the wind falling, they weighed anchor; and after sailing sixty stades they moored off a sandy shore; there was a desert island near the shore. They used this, therefore, as a breakwater and moored there; the island was called Domai. On the shore there was no water, but after advancing some twenty stades inland they found good water. Next day they sailed up to nightfall to Saranga, some three hundred stades, and moored off the beach, and water was found about eight stades from the beach. Thence they sailed and moored at Sacala, a desert spot. Then making their way through two rocks, so close together that the oar-blades of the ships touched the rocks to port and starboard, they moored at Morontobara, after sailing some three hundred stades. The harbour is spacious, circular, deep, and calm, but its entrance is narrow. They called it, in

στεινός· τοῦτον τῇ γλώσσῃ τῇ ἐπιχωρίῃ Γυναι-
κῶν λιμένα ἐκάλεον, ὅτι γυνὴ τοῦ χώρου τούτου
6 πρώτη ἐπῆρξεν. Ὡς δὲ διὰ τῶν σκοπέλων
διεξέπλωον, κύμασί τε μεγάλοισιν ἐνέκυρσαν καὶ
τῇ θαλάσσῃ ῥοώδεϊ· ἀλλὰ ἐκπεριπλῶσαι γὰρ
7 ὑπὲρ τοὺς σκοπέλους μέγα ἔργον ἐφαίνετο. Ἐς
δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίην ἔπλωον νῆσον ἐς ἀριστερὰ
ἔχοντες πρὸ τοῦ πελάγεος, οὕτω τι τῷ αἰγιαλῷ
συναφέα, ὥστε εἰκάσαι ἂν διώρυχα εἶναι τὸ
μέσον τοῦ τε αἰγιαλοῦ καὶ τῆς νήσου· στάδιοι
οἱ πάντες ἑβδομήκοντα τοῦ διέκπλου· καὶ ἐπί
τε τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ δένδρεα ἦν πολλὰ καὶ δασέα,
8 καὶ ἡ νῆσος ὕλῃ παντοίῃ σύσκιος. Ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν
ἕω ἔπλωον ἔξω τῆς νήσου κατὰ ῥηχίην στεινήν·
ἔτι γὰρ ἀνάπωτις κατεῖχε. Πλώσαντες δὲ ἐς
ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίους ὁρμίζονται ἐν τῷ
στόματι τοῦ Ἀράβιος ποταμοῦ· καὶ λιμὴν
μέγας καὶ καλὸς πρὸς τῷ στόματι· ὕδωρ δὲ οὐκ
ἦν πότιμον· τοῦ γὰρ Ἀράβιος αἱ ἐκβολαὶ ἀναμε-
9 μιγμέναι τῷ πόντῳ ἦσαν· ἀλλὰ τεσσαράκοντα
σταδίους ἐς τὸ ἄνω προχωρήσαντες λάκκῳ ἐπι-
τυγχάνουσι, καὶ ἔνθεν ὑδρευσάμενοι ὀπίσω ἀνενό-
10 στησαν. Νῆσος δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ λιμένι ὑψηλὴ καὶ
ἔρημος· καὶ περὶ ταύτην ὀστρέων τε καὶ ἰχθύων
παντοδαπῶν θήρη. Μέχρι μὲν τοῦδε Ἀράβιες,
ἔσχατοι Ἰνδῶν ταύτῃ ᾠκισμένοι, τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦδε
Ὠρεῖται ἐπεῖχον.

XXIII. Ὁρμηθέντες δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐκβολῆς τοῦ
Ἀράβιος παρέπλωον τῶν Ὠρειτέων τὴν χώρην·
καὶ ὁρμίζονται ἐν Παγάλοισι, πλώσαντες σταδίους
ἐς διηκοσίους, πρὸς ῥηχίῃ· ἀλλὰ ἀγκύρῃσι γὰρ
ἐπίβολος ἦν ὁ χῶρος. Τὰ μὲν ὦν πληρώματα

the natives' language, "The Ladies' Pool," since a lady was the first sovereign of this district. When they had got safe through the rocks, they met great waves, and the sea running strong; and moreover it seemed very hazardous to sail seaward of the cliffs. For the next day, however, they sailed with an island on their port beam, so as to break the sea, so close indeed to the beach that one would have conjectured that it was a channel cut between the island and the coast. The entire passage was of some seventy stades. On the beach were many thick trees, and the island was wholly covered with shady forest. About dawn, they sailed outside the island, by a narrow and turbulent passage; for the tide was still falling. And when they had sailed some hundred and twenty stades they anchored in the mouth of the river Arabis. There was a fine large harbour by its mouth; but there was no drinking water; for the mouths of the Arabis were mixed with sea-water. However, after penetrating forty stades inland they found a water-hole, and after drawing water thence they returned back again. By the harbour was a high island, desert, and round it one could get oysters and all kinds of fish. Up to this the country of the Arabeans extends; they are the last Indians settled in this direction; from here on the territory of the Oreitans begins.

XXIII. Leaving the outlets of the Arabis they coasted along the territory of the Oreitans, and anchored at Pagala, after a voyage of two hundred stades, near a breaking sea; but they were able all the same to cast anchor. The crews rode out the

ἀπεσάλευον ἐν τῆσι νησσίν· οἱ δὲ ἐπ' ὕδωρ
2 ἐκβάντες ὑδρεύοντο. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίῃ ἀναχθέντες
ἅμα ἡμέρῃ καὶ πλώσαντες σταδίους ἐς τριήκοντα
καὶ τετρακοσίους κατάγονται ἑσπέριοι ἐς Κάβανα,
καὶ ὁρμίζονται πρὸς αἰγιαλῷ ἐρήμῳ· καὶ ἐνταῦθα
ῥηχίη τραχέα ἦν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε μετεώρους τὰς
3 νέας ὡρμίσαντο. Κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν πλόον πνεῦμα
ὑπολαμβάνει τὰς νέας μέγα ἐκ πόντου, καὶ νέες
δύο μακραὶ διαφθείρονται ἐν τῷ πλόῳ, καὶ
κέρκουρος· οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι σώζονται ἀπονηξά-
μενοι, ὅτι οὐ πόρρω τῆς γῆς ὁ πλόος ἐγίνετο.
4 Ἀμφὶ δὲ μέσας νύκτας ἀναχθέντες πλώουσιν
ἔστε ἐπὶ Κώκαλα, ἃ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ, ἔνθεν
ὡρμήθησαν, ἀπεῖχε σταδίους διηκοσίους· καὶ αἱ
μὲν νέες σαλεύουσαι ὥρμεον, τὰ πληρώματα δὲ
ἐκβιβάσας Νέαρχος πρὸς τῇ γῇ ηὐλίσθη, ὅτι
ἐπὶ πολλὸν τεταλαιπωρηκότες ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ
ἀναπαύσασθαι ἐπόθεον· στρατόπεδον δὲ περιε-
βάλλετο τῶν βαρβάρων τῆς φυλακῆς ἕνεκα.
5 Ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ Λεοννάτος, ὅτῳ τὰ Ὠρειτέων
ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπετέτραπτο, μάχῃ μεγάλῃ νικᾷ
Ὠρείτας τε καὶ ὅσοι Ὠρείτῃσι συνεπέλαβον τοῦ
ἔργου· καὶ κτείνει αὐτῶν ἑξακισχιλίους, καὶ τοὺς
ἡγεμόνας πάντας· τῶν δὲ σὺν Λεοννάτῳ ἱππέες
μὲν ἀποθνήσκουσι πεντεκαίδεκα, τῶν δὲ πεζῶν
ἄλλοι τε οὐ πολλοὶ καὶ Ἀπολλοφάνης ὁ Γαδρω-
6 σίων σατράπης. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ
ξυγγραφῇ ἀναγέγραπται, καὶ ὅκως Λεοννάτος ἐπὶ
τῷδε ἐστεφανώθη πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου χρυσέῳ
7 στεφάνῳ ἐν Μακεδόσιν. Ἐνταῦθα σῖτος ἦν
νενεμημένος[1] κατὰ πρόσταγμα Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐς

[1] Dobree suggested νενημένος.

seas in their vessels, though a few went in seach of water, and procured it. Next day they sailed at dawn, and after making four hundred and thirty stades they put in towards evening at Cabana, and moored on a desert shore. There too was a heavy surf, and so they anchored their vessels well out to sea. It was on this part of the voyage that a heavy squall from seaward caught the fleet, and two warships were lost on the passage, and one galley; the men swam off and got to safety, as they were sailing quite near the land. But about midnight they weighed anchor and sailed as far as Cocala, which was about two hundred stades from the beach off which they had anchored. The ships kept the open sea and anchored, but Nearchus disembarked the crews and bivouacked on shore; after all these toils and dangers in the sea, they desired to rest awhile. The camp was entrenched, to keep off the natives. Here Leonnatus, who had been in charge of operations against the Oreitans, beat in a great battle the Oreitans, along with others who had joined their enterprise. He slew some six thousand of them, including all the higher officers; of the cavalry with Leonnatus fifteen fell, and of his infantry, among a few others, Apollophanes satrap of Gadrosia. This I have related in my other history, and also how Leonnatus was crowned by Alexander for this exploit with a golden coronet before the Macedonians. There provision of corn had been gathered

ἐπισιτισμὸν τῷ στρατῷ· καὶ ἐμβάλλονται σιτία
8 ἡμερέων δέκα ἐς τὰς νέας· καὶ τῶν νεῶν ὅσαι
πεπονήκεσαν κατὰ τὸν πλόον μέχρι τοῦδε ἐπε-
σκεύασαν· καὶ τῶν ναυτέων ὅσοι ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ
βλακεύειν ἐφαίνοντο Νεάρχῳ, τούτους μὲν πεζῇ
ἄγειν Λεοννάτῳ ἔδωκεν· αὐτὸς δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν σὺν
Λεοννάτῳ στρατιωτέων συμπληροῖ τὸ ναυτικόν.

XXIV. Ἐνθένδε ὁρμηθέντες ἔπλωον ἀκραεί·
καὶ διελθόντες σταδίους ἐς πεντακοσίους ὡρμίζ-
οντο πρὸς ποταμῷ χειμάρρῳ· Τόμηρος οὔνομα
2 ἦν τῷ ποταμῷ. Καὶ λίμνη ἦν ἐπὶ τῇσιν ἐκβο-
λῇσι τοῦ ποταμοῦ· τὰ δὲ βραχέα τὰ πρὸς τῷ
αἰγιαλῷ ἐπῴκεον ἄνθρωποι ἐν καλύβῃσι πνι-
γηρῇσι· καὶ οὗτοι ὡς προσπλώοντας εἶδον, ἐθάμ-
βησάν τε καὶ παρατείναντες σφᾶς παρὰ τὸν
αἰγιαλὸν ἐτάχθησαν ὡς ἀπομαχούμενοι πρὸς τοὺς
3 ἐκβαίνοντας· λόγχας δὲ ἐφόρεον παχέας, μέγεθος
ὡς ἑξαπήχεας· ἀκωκὴ δὲ οὐκ ἐπῆν σιδηρέη, ἀλλὰ
τὸ ὀξὺ αὐτῇσι πεπυρακτωμένον τὸ αὐτὸ ἐποίεε·
4 πλῆθος δὲ ἦσαν ὡς ἑξακόσιοι· καὶ τούτους
Νέαρχος ὡς ὑπομένοντάς τε καὶ παρατεταγμένους
κατεῖδε, τὰς μὲν νέας ἀνακωχεύειν κελεύει ἐντὸς
βέλεος, ὡς τὰ τοξεύματα ἐς τὴν γῆν ἀπ' αὐτῶν
ἐξικνέεσθαι· αἱ γὰρ τῶν βαρβάρων λόγχαι
παχέαι[1] φαινόμεναι ἀγχέμαχοι μέν, ἄφοβοι δὲ
5 ἐς τὸ ἀκοντίζεσθαι ἦσαν. Αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν στρα-
τιωτέων ὅσοι αὐτοί τε κουφότατοι καὶ κουφότατα
ὡπλισμένοι τοῦ τε νέειν δαημονέστατοι, τούτους
6 δὲ ἐκνήξασθαι κελεύει ἀπὸ ξυνθήματος· πρόσ-
ταγμα δὲ σφίσιν ἦν, ὅκως τις ἐκνηξάμενος
σταίη ἐν τῷ ὕδατι, προσμένειν τὸν παραστάτην

[1] παχ. φαιν. comes in strangely, and Hercher omits.

ready, by Alexander's orders, to victual the host; and they took on board ten days' rations. The ships which had suffered in the passage so far they repaired; and whatever troops Nearchus thought were inclined to malinger he handed over to Leonnatus, but he himself recruited his fleet from Leonnatus' soldiery.

XXIV. Thence they set sail and progressed with a favouring wind; and after a passage of five hundred stades they anchored by a torrent, which was called Tomerus. There was a lagoon at the mouths of the river, and the depressions near the bank were inhabited by natives in stifling cabins. These seeing the convoy sailing up were astounded, and lining along the shore stood ready to repel any who should attempt a landing. They carried thick spears, about six cubits long; these had no iron tip, but the same result was obtained by hardening the point with fire. They were in number about six hundred. Nearchus observed these evidently standing firm and drawn up in order, and ordered the ships to hold back within range, so that their missiles might reach the shore; for the natives' spears, which looked stalwart, were good for close fighting, but had no terrors against a volley. Then Nearchus took the lightest and lightest-armed troops, such as were also the best swimmers, and bade them swim off as soon as the word was given. Their orders were that, as soon as any swimmer found bottom, he should

οἱ ἐσόμενον· μηδ' ἐμβάλλειν πρόσθεν πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους, πρὶν ἐπὶ τριῶν ἐς βάθος ταχθῆναι τὴν φάλαγγα· τότε δὲ δρόμῳ ἤδη ἰέναι ἐπα-
7 λαλάξαντας. Ἅμα δὲ ἐρρίπτεον ἑωυτοὺς οἱ ἐπὶ τῷδε τεταγμένοι ἐκ τῶν νεῶν ἐς τὸν πόντον, καὶ ἐνήχοντο ὀξέως, καὶ ἵσταντο ἐν κόσμῳ, καὶ φάλαγγα ἐκ σφῶν ποιησάμενοι δρόμῳ ἐπῄεσαν αὐτοί τε ἀλαλάζοντες τῷ Ἐνυαλίῳ, καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν ξυνεπηχέοντες, τοξεύματά τε καὶ ἀπὸ μηχανέων βέλεα ἐφέροντο ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους·
8 οἱ δὲ τήν τε λαμπρότητα τῶν ὅπλων ἐκπλαγέντες καὶ τῆς ἐφόδου τὴν ὀξύτητα, καὶ πρὸς τῶν τοξευμάτων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βελέων βαλλόμενοι οἷα δὴ ἡμίγυμνοι ἄνθρωποι, οὐδὲ ὀλίγον ἐς ἀλκὴν τραπέντες ἐγκλίνουσι· καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτοῦ φεύγοντες ἀποθνήσκουσιν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἁλίσκονται· ἔστι δὲ οἳ καὶ διέφυγον ἐς τὰ ὄρεα.
9 Ἦσαν δὲ οἱ ἁλόντες τά τε ἄλλα σώματα δασέες καὶ τὰς κεφαλάς, καὶ τοὺς ὄνυχας θηριώδεες· τοῖς γὰρ δὴ ὄνυξιν ὅσα σιδήρῳ διαχρᾶσθαι ἐλέγοντο, καὶ τοὺς ἰχθύας τούτοισι παρασχίζοντες κατεργάζεσθαι, καὶ τῶν ξύλων ὅσα μαλακώτερα· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα τοῖσι λίθοισι τοῖσιν ὀξέσιν ἔκοπτον· σίδηρος γὰρ αὐτοῖσιν οὐκ ἦν. Ἐσθῆτα δὲ ἐφόρεον δέρματα θήρεια· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἰχθύων τῶν μεγάλων τὰ παχέα.

XXV. Ἐνταῦθα νεωλκέουσι τὰς νέας, καὶ ὅσαι πεπονηκυῖαι αὐτέων ἐπισκευάζουσι. Τῇ δὲ ἕκτῃ ἡμέρῃ ἐστέλλοντο, καὶ πλώσαντες σταδίους ἐς τριηκοσίους ἀπικνέονται ἐς χῶρον, ὃς δὴ ἔσχατος ἦν τῆς Ὠρειτέων γῆς· Μάλανα τῷ
2 χώρῳ οὔνομα. Ὠρεῖται δὲ ὅσοι ἄνω ἀπὸ θα-

await his mate, and not attack the natives till they had their formation three deep; but then they were to raise their battle cry and charge at the double. On the word, those detailed for this service dived from the ships into the sea, and swam smartly, and took up their formation in orderly manner, and having made a phalanx, charged, raising, for their part, their battle cry to the God of War, and those on shipboard raised the cry along with them; and arrows and missiles from the engines were hurled against the natives. They, astounded at the flash of the armour, and the swiftness of the charge, and attacked by showers of arrows and missiles, half naked as they were, never stopped to resist but gave way. Some were killed in flight; others were captured; but some escaped into the hills. Those captured were hairy, not only their heads but the rest of their bodies; their nails were rather like beasts' claws; they used their nails (according to report) as if they were iron tools; with these they tore asunder their fishes, and even the less solid kinds of wood; everything else they cleft with sharp stones; for iron they did not possess. For clothing they wore skins of animals, some even the thick skins of the larger fishes.

XXV. Here the crews beached their ships and repaired such as had suffered. On the sixth day from this they set sail, and after voyaging about three hundred stades they came to a country which was the last point in the territory of the Oreitans: the district was called Malana. Such Oreitans as

λάσσης οἰκέουσιν, ἐσταλμένοι μὲν κατάπερ οἱ Ἰνδοί εἰσι, καὶ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ὡσαύτως παραρτέονται· γλῶσσα δὲ ἄλλη αὐτοῖσι καὶ ἄλλα νόμαια.
3 Μῆκος τοῦ παράπλου παρὰ μὲν χώρην τὴν Ἀραβίων ἐς χιλίους μάλιστα σταδίους, ἔνθενπερ ὡρμήθησαν, παρὰ δὲ τὴν Ὠρειτέων γῆν ἑξακόσιοι
4 καὶ χίλιοι. Παραπλωόντων δὲ τὴν Ἰνδῶν γῆν (τὸ ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ οὐκέτι Ἰνδοί εἰσι) λέγει Νέαρχος
5 ὅτι αἱ σκιαὶ αὐτοῖσιν οὐ ταὐτὸ ἐποίεον· ἀλλὰ ὅκου μὲν ἐπὶ πολλὸν τοῦ πόντου ὡς πρὸς μεσημβρίην προχωρήσειαν, αἵδε καὶ αὐταὶ αἱ σκιαὶ πρὸς μεσημβρίην τετραμμέναι ἐφαίνοντο, ὁκότε δὲ τὸ μέσον τῆς ἡμέρης ἐπέχοι ὁ ἥλιος, ἤδη δὲ
6 καὶ ἔρημα σκιῆς πάντα ὤφθη αὐτοῖσι, τῶν τε ἀστέρων ὅσους πρόσθεν μετεώρους κατεώρων, οἱ μὲν ἀφανέες πάντῃ ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ γῇ ἐφαίνοντο, καταδύνοντές τε καὶ αὐτίκα ἀνατέλ-
7 λοντες οἱ πάλαι ἀειφανέες ἐόντες. Καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἀπεικότα δοκέει μοι ἀναγράψαι Νέαρχος, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐν Συήνῃ τῇ Αἰγυπτίῃ, ἐπεὰν τροπὰς ἄγῃ θέρεος ὥρης ὁ ἥλιος, φρέαρ ἀποδεδειγμένον ἐστί, καὶ τοῦτο ἄσκιον ἐν μεσημβρίῃ φαίνεται· ἐν
8 Μερόῃ δὲ πάντα ἄσκια τῇ αὐτῇ ὥρῃ· εἰκὸς ὦν καὶ ἐν Ἰνδοῖσιν, ἅτε πρὸς μεσημβρίην ᾠκισμένοισι, τὰ αὐτὰ δὴ πάθεα ἐπέχειν, καὶ μάλιστα δὴ κατὰ τὸν πόντον τὸν Ἰνδικόν, ὅσῳ μᾶλλον αὐτοῖσιν ἡ θάλασσα πρὸς μεσημβρίην κέκλιται. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὧδε ἐχέτω.

XXVI. Ἐπὶ δὲ Ὠρείτῃσι κατὰ μὲν μεσογαίην Γαδρώσιοι ἐπεῖχον· ὧν τὴν χώρην χαλεπῶς διεξῆλθεν ἅμα τῇ στρατιῇ Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ

live inland, away from the sea, dress as the Indians do, and equip themselves similarly for warfare; but their dialect and customs differ. The length of the coasting voyage along the territory of the Arabeis was about a thousand stades from the point of departure; the length of the Oreitan coast sixteen hundred. As they sailed along the land of India—for thence onward the natives are no longer Indians—Nearchus states that their shadows were not cast in the same way; but where they were making for the high seas and steering a southerly course, their shadows appeared to fall southerly too; but whenever the sun was at midday, then everything seemed shadowless.[1] Then such of the stars as they had seen hitherto in the sky, some were completely hidden, others showed themselves low down towards the earth; those they had seen continually before were now observed both setting, and then at once rising again. I think this tale of Nearchus' is likely; since in Syene of Egypt, when the sun is at the summer solstice, people show a well where at midday one sees no shade; and in Meroe, at the same season, no shadows are cast. So it seems reasonable that in India too, since they are far southward, the same natural phenomena may occur, and especially in the Indian Ocean, just because it particularly runs southward. But here I must leave this subject.

XXVI. Next to the Oreitans, more inland, dwelt the Gadrosians, whose country Alexander and his army had much pains in traversing; indeed they

[1] Nearchus—or Arrian—is confused; and the common observation that in southern latitudes at midday objects seem to stand upon and so hide their own shadows could have been made elsewhere.

κακὰ τοσαῦτα ἔπαθεν, ὅσα οὐδὲ τὰ ξύμπαντα τῆς συμπάσης στρατηλασίης· ταῦτά μοι ἐν
2 τῇ μέζονι ξυγγραφῇ ἀναγέγραπται. Κάτω δὲ Γαδρωσίων παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν αὐτὴν οἱ Ἰχθυοφάγοι καλεόμενοι οἰκέουσι· παρὰ τούτων τὴν γῆν ἔπλωον· τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ἡμέρῃ περὶ τὴν δευτέρην φυλακὴν ἀναχθέντες καταίρουσιν εἰς Βαγίσαρα·
3 στάδιοι τοῦ παράπλου ἑξακόσιοι. Λιμήν τε ἔνι αὐτόθι εὔορμος, καὶ κώμη Πάσιρα, ἀπέχουσα ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἑξήκοντα σταδίους· καὶ οἱ πρόσ-
4 οικοι αὐτῆς Πασιρέες. Ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίην πρωϊαίτερον τῆς ὥρης ἀναχθέντες περιπλώουσιν ἄκρην ἐπὶ πολύ τε ἀνέχουσαν ἐς τὸν πόντον καὶ
5 αὐτὴν ὑψηλὴν καὶ κρημνώδεα· φρέατα δὲ ὀρύξαντες, ὕδωρ οὐκ ὀλίγον καίπερ πονηρὸν ἀρυσάμενοι ταύτῃ μὲν τῇ ἡμέρῃ ἐπὶ ἀγκυρέων ὥρμων,
6 ὅτι ῥηχίη κατὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἀνεῖχεν. Ἐς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίην καταίρουσιν ἐς Κόλτα, σταδίους ἐλθόντες διηκοσίους. Ἔνθεν δὲ ἕωθεν πλώσαντες σταδίους ἑξακοσίους ἐν Καλύβοισιν ὁρμίζονται· κώμη πρὸς τῷ αἰγιαλῷ, φοίνικες δὲ περὶ αὐτὴν ὀλίγοι πεφύκεσαν, καὶ βάλανοι ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖσι χλωραὶ ἐπῆσαν· καὶ νῆσος ὡς ἑκατὸν σταδίους ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἀπέχουσα, Καρνίνη οὔνομα.
7 Ἐνταῦθα ξείνια Νεάρχῳ προσφέρουσιν οἱ κωμῆται πρόβατα καὶ ἰχθύας· καὶ τῶν προβάτων τὰ κρέα λέγει ὅτι ἦν ἰχθυώδεα, ἴσα τοῖσι τῶν ὀρνίθων τῶν πελαγίων, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὰ ἰχθύων
8 σιτέεται· ποίη γὰρ οὐκ ἔνι ἐν τῇ χώρῃ. Ἀλλὰ τῇ ὑστεραίῃ πλώσαντες ἐς σταδίους διηκοσίους ὁρμίζονται πρὸς αἰγιαλῷ καὶ κώμῃ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐς σταδίους τριήκοντα ἀπεχούσῃ· ἡ μὲν κώμη

suffered more than during all the rest of his expedition: all this I have related in my larger history. Below the Gadrosians, as you follow the actual coast, dwell the people called the Fish-eaters. The fleet sailed past their country. On the first day they unmoored about the second watch, and put in at Bagisara; a distance along the coast of about six hundred stades. There is a safe harbour there, and a village called Pasira, some sixty stades from the sea; the natives about it are called Pasireans. The next day they weighed anchor earlier than usual and sailed round a promontory which ran far seaward, and was high, and precipitous. Then they dug wells; and obtained a good deal of water, but of poor quality; and for that day they rode at anchor, because there was heavy surf on the beach. Next day they put in at Colta after a voyage of two hundred stades. Thence they departed at dawn, and after voyaging six hundred stades anchored at Calyba. A village is on the shore, a few date-palms grew near it, and there were dates, still green, upon them. About a hundred stades from the beach is an island called Carnine. There the villagers brought gifts to Nearchus, sheep and fishes; the mutton, he says, had a fishy taste, like the flesh of the sea-birds, since even the sheep feed on fish; for there is no grass in the place. However, on the next day they sailed two hundred stades and moored off a beach, and a village about thirty stades from the sea; it was called

Κίσσα ἐκαλέετο· Καρβὶς δὲ τῷ αἰγιαλῷ οὔνομα
9 ἦν. Ἐνταῦθα πλοίοισιν ἐπιτυγχάνουσι σμικροῖσιν, οἷα ἁλιέων εἶναι πλοῖα οὐκ εὐδαιμόνων· αὐτοὺς δὲ οὐ καταλαμβάνουσιν· ἀλλ' ἔφυγον γὰρ καθορμιζομένας κατιδόντες τὰς νέας. Σῖτός τε αὐτόθι οὐκ ἐνῆν, καὶ ὑπολελοίπει τὴν στρατιὴν ὁ πολλός· ἀλλὰ αἶγας ἐμβαλλόμενοι ἐς τὰς νέας,
10 οὕτω δὴ ἀπέπλωον. Καὶ περιπλώσαντες ἄκρην ὑψηλὴν ὅσον πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίους ἀνέχουσαν ἐς τὸν πόντον, κατάγονται ἐν λιμένι ἀκλύστῳ· καὶ ὕδωρ αὐτόθι ἦν, καὶ ἁλιέες ᾤκεον· Μοσαρνὰ οὔνομα ἦν τῷ λιμένι.

XXVII. Ἔνθεν δὲ καὶ ἡγεμὼν τοῦ πλόου λέγει Νέαρχος ὅτι συνέπλωσεν αὐτοῖν, Ὑδράκης οὔνομα, Γαδρώσιος· ὑπέστη δὲ Ὑδράκης καταστήσειν αὐτοὺς μέχρι Καρμανίης. Τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦδε οὐκέτι χαλεπὰ ἦν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλόν τι ὀνομαζόμενα, ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸν κόλπον τὸν Περσικόν.
2 Ἐκ δὲ Μοσαρνῶν νυκτὸς ἐπάραντες πλώουσι σταδίους ἑπτακοσίους καὶ πεντήκοντα ἐς Βάλωμον αἰγιαλόν· ἔνθεν δὲ ἐς Βάρνα[1] κώμην σταδίους τετρακοσίους, ἵνα φοίνικές τε πολλοὶ ἐνῆσαν καὶ κῆπος· καὶ ἐν τῷ κήπῳ μύρσιναι ἐπεφύκεσαν, καὶ ἄλλα ἄνθεα, ἀπ' ὅτων στεφανώματα τοῖσι κωμήτῃσιν ἐπλέκοντο· ἐνταῦθα πρῶτον δένδρεά τε εἶδον ἥμερα, καὶ ἀνθρώπους οὐ πάντη
3 θηριώδεας ἐποικέοντας. Ἐνθένδε ἐς διηκοσίους σταδίους περιπλώσαντες καταίρουσιν ἐς Δενδρώβοσα, καὶ αἱ νέες ἐπ' ἀγκυρέων ἐσάλευσαν.
4 Ἐνθένδε ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας ἄραντες ἐς Κώφαντα λιμένα ἀπίκοντο, τετρακοσίους μάλιστα σταδίους

[1] Βάδρα Müller and Tomescheck.

Cissa, and Carbis was the name of the strip of coast. There they found a few boats, the sort which poor fishermen might use; but the fishermen themselves they did not find, for they had run away as soon as they saw the ships anchoring. There was no corn there, and the army had spent most of its store; but they caught and embarked there some goats, and so sailed away. Rounding a tall cape running some hundred and fifty stades into the sea, they put in at a calm harbour; there was water there, and fishermen dwelt near; the harbour was called Mosarna.

XXVII. Nearchus tells us that from this point a pilot sailed with them, a Gadrosian called Hydraces. He had promised to take them as far as Carmania; from thence on the navigation was not difficult, but the districts were better known, up to the Persian Gulf. From Mosarna they sailed at night, seven hundred and fifty stades, to the beach of Balomus. Thence again to Barna, a village, four hundred stades, where there were many date-palms and a garden; and in the garden grew myrtles and abundant flowers, of which wreaths were woven by the natives. There for the first time they saw garden-trees, and men dwelling there not entirely like animals. Thence they coasted a further two hundred stades and reached Dendrobosa, and the ships kept the roadstead at anchor. Thence about midnight they sailed and came to a harbour Cophas, after a voyage of

5 διεκπλώσαντες· ἐνταῦθα ἁλιέες τε ᾤκεον, καὶ
πλοῖα αὐτοῖσιν ἦν σμικρὰ καὶ πονηρά· καὶ τῇσι
κώπῃσιν οὐ κατὰ σκαλμὸν ἤρεσσον ὡς ὁ Ἑλλήνων
νόμος, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν ποταμῷ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπιβάλ-
λοντες ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν, κατάπερ οἱ σκάπτοντες
τὴν γῆν· ὕδωρ δὲ πολλόν τε ἦν ἐν τῷ λιμένι
6 καὶ καθαρόν. Περὶ δὲ πρώτην φυλακὴν ἄραντες
καταίρουσιν ἐς Κύϊζα, ἐς ὀκτακοσίους σταδίους
διεκπλώσαντες· ἵνα αἰγιαλός τε ἔρημος ἦν καὶ
ῥηχίη. Αὐτοὶ ὧν ἐπ' ἀγκυρέων ὥρμεον, κατὰ
7 νέα τε δεῖπνον ἐποιέοντο. Ἐνθένδε διεκπλώσαντες
σταδίους πεντακοσίους ἀπίκοντο ἔς τινα πόλιν
σμικρήν, οἰκεομένην ἐπὶ γηλόφου οὐ πόρρω τοῦ
8 αἰγιαλοῦ. Καὶ Νέαρχος ἐπιφρασθεὶς ὅτι σπεί-
ρεσθαι τὴν χώρην εἰκός, λέγει πρὸς Ἀρχίην (ὃς
ἦν Ἀναξιδότου μὲν παῖς, Πελλαῖος, συνέπλωε
δὲ Νεάρχῳ, τῶν ἐν αἴνῃ ἐὼν Μακεδόνων), πρὸς
τοῦτον λέγει, ὅτι καταληπτέον σφίσιν εἴη τὸ
9 χωρίον· ἑκόντας τε γὰρ οὐκ ἂν οἴεσθαι δοῦναι
τῇ στρατιῇ σιτία, βίῃ τε οὐκ οἷόν τε εἶναι
ἐξαιρέειν, πολιορκίης δὲ καὶ τριβῆς δεήσειν·
σφᾶς δὲ ἐπιλελοιπέναι τὰ σιτία· ὅτι δὲ ἡ γῆ
σιτοφόρος, τῇ καλάμῃ τεκμηριοῦσθαι, ἥντινα οὐ
10 πόρρω τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἀφεώρων βαθέην. Ταῦτα
ἐπεὶ σφίσιν ἐδόκεε, τὰς μὲν ἄλλας νέας κελεύει
παραρτέεσθαι ὡς ἐς πλόον· καὶ ὁ Ἀρχίης αὐτῷ
ἐξήρτυε τὰ ἐς τὸν πλόον· αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπολειφθεὶς
μετὰ μιῆς νεὸς ἐπὶ θέαν δῆθεν τῆς πόλιος ᾔει.

XXVIII. Προσάγοντι δὲ αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰ τείχεα φιλίως ξείνια ἔφερον ἐκ τῆς πόλιος θύννους τε ἐν κριβάνοισιν ὀπτούς (οὗτοι γὰρ ἔσχατοι τῶν

about four hundred stades; here dwelt fishermen, with small and feeble boats; and they did not row with their oars on a rowlock, as the Greeks do, but as you do in a river, propelling the water on this side or that like labourers digging[1] the soil. At the harbour was abundant pure water. About the first watch they weighed anchor and arrived at Cyiza, after a passage of eight hundred stades, where there was a desert beach and a heavy surf. Here, therefore, they anchored, and each ship took its own meal. Thence they voyaged five hundred stades and arrived at a small town built near the shore on a hill. Nearchus, who imagined that the district must be tilled, told Archias of Pella, son of Anaxidotus, who was sailing with Nearchus, and was a notable Macedonian, that they must surprise the town, since he had no hope that the natives would give the army provisions of their good-will; while he could not capture the town by force, but this would require a siege and much delay; while they in the meanwhile were short of provisions. But that the land did produce corn he could gather from the straw which they saw lying deep near the beach. When they had come to this resolve, Nearchus bade the fleet in general to get ready as if to go to sea; and Archias, in his place, made all ready for the voyage; but Nearchus himself was left behind with a single ship and went off as if to have a look at the town.

XXVIII. As Nearchus approached the walls, the natives brought him, in a friendly way, gifts from the city; tunny-fish baked in earthen pans; for there

[1] *i.e.* they "dug" the water with a paddle. Trimmers at coaling ports sometimes actually use their shovels as paddles, giving point to Arrian's comparison.

Ἰχθυοφάγων οἰκέοντες πρῶτοι αὐτοῖσιν ὤφθησαν οὐκ ὠμοφαγέοντες) καὶ πέμματα ὀλίγα καὶ βα-
2 λάνους τῶν φοινίκων. Ὁ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ἀσμένως δέκεσθαι ἔφη, ἐθέλειν δὲ θεήσασθαι τὴν πόλιν·
3 οἱ δὲ εἴων παρελθεῖν. Ὡς δὲ εἴσω πυλῶν παρῆλθε, δύο μὲν τῶν τοξοτέων κατέχειν κελεύει τὴν πυλίδα, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ δύο ἄλλων καὶ τοῦ ἑρμηνέος ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος τὸ ταύτῃ ἀνελθὼν ἐσήμηνε τοῖσιν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀρχίην ὅπως συνέκειτο, τὸν μὲν ὦν[1] σημῆναι, τὸν δὲ συμβαλόντα ποιέειν τὸ
4 τεταγμένον. Ἰδόντες δὲ τὸ σημήιον οἱ Μακεδόνες ἐπώκελλόν τε κατὰ τάχος τὰς νέας καὶ ἐξεπήδων σπουδῇ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐκπλαγέντες τοῖσι γινομένοισιν ἐπὶ τὰ
5 ὅπλα ἔθεον· ὁ δὲ ἑρμηνεὺς ὁ σὺν Νεάρχῳ ἐκήρυσσε σῖτον διδόναι τῇ στρατιῇ, εἰ σώην ἐθέλωσιν ἔχειν τὴν πόλιν· οἱ δὲ ἠρνέοντο εἶναι σφίσι, καὶ ἅμα προσέβαλον τῷ τείχει· ἀλλὰ ἀνέστελλον αὐτοὺς οἱ τοξόται οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Νέαρχον,
6 ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου τοξεύοντες. Ὡς δὲ ἔμαθον ἐχομένην τε ἤδη καὶ ὅσον οὔπω ἀνδραποδισθησομένην σφίσι τὴν πόλιν, τότε δὲ δὴ ἐδέοντο τοῦ Νεάρχου, τὸν μὲν σῖτον ὅσπερ ἦν αὐτοῖσι λαβόντα ἀπά-
7 γειν, τὴν πόλιν δὲ μὴ διαφθεῖραι. Νέαρχος δὲ τὸν μὲν Ἀρχίην κελεύει καταλαβεῖν τὰς πύλας καὶ τὸ κατ᾽ αὐτὰς τεῖχος· αὐτὸς δὲ συμπέμπει τοὺς κατοψομένους τὸν σῖτον, εἰ ἀδόλως δεικ-
8 νύουσιν. Οἱ δὲ τὸ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἰχθύων τῶν ὀπτῶν ἀληλεσμένον ἄλευρον πολὺ ἐδείκνυσαν, πυροὺς δὲ καὶ κριθὰς ὀλίγας· καὶ γὰρ καὶ

[1] If the sentence is continuous, ἂν, inserted by Vulcanius, should be omitted.

dwell the westernmost of the Fish-eating tribes, and were the first whom the Greeks had seen cooking their food; and they brought also a few cakes and dates from the palms. Nearchus said that he accepted these gratefully; and desired to visit the town, and they permitted him to enter. But as soon as he passed inside the gates, he bade two of the archers to occupy the postern, while he and two others, and the interpreter, mounted the wall on this side and signalled to Archias and his men as had been arranged: that Nearchus should signal, and Archias understand and do what had been ordered. On seeing the signal the Macedonians beached their ships with all speed; they leapt in haste into the sea, while the natives, astounded at this manœuvre, ran to their arms. The interpreter with Nearchus cried out that they should give corn to the army, if they wanted to save their city; and the natives replied that they had none, and at the same time attacked the wall. But the archers with Nearchus shooting from above easily held them up. When, however, the natives saw that their town was already occupied and almost on the way to be enslaved, they begged Nearchus to take what corn they had and retire, but not to destroy the town. Nearchus, however, bade Archias to seize the gates and the neighbouring wall; but he sent with the natives some soldiers to see whether they would without any trick reveal their corn. They showed freely their flour, ground down from the dried fish; but only a small quantity of corn and barley. In fact they used as

ἐτύγχανον σίτῳ μὲν τῷ ἀπὸ τῶν ἰχθύων, τοῖσι
9 δὲ ἄρτοισιν ὅσα ὄψῳ διαχρεόμενοι. Ὡς δὲ τὰ
ἐόντα ἐπεδείκνυον, οὕτω δὴ ἐκ τῶν παρεόντων
ἐπισιτισάμενοι ἀνήγοντο, καὶ ὁρμίζονται πρὸς
ἄκρην, ἥντινα οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ἱρὴν ἡλίου ἦγον·
οὔνομα τῇ ἄκρῃ Βάγεια.

XXIX. Ἐνθένδε ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας ἄραντες
διεκπλώουσι σταδίους ἐς χιλίους ἐς Τάλμενα
λιμένα εὔορμον· ἐνθένδε ἐς Κανασίδα πόλιν
ἐρήμην σταδίους ἐς τετρακοσίους, ἵνα τινὶ φρέατι
ὀρυκτῷ ἐπιτυγχάνουσι, καὶ φοίνικες ἄγριοι
ἐπεφύκεσαν· τούτων τοὺς ἐγκεφάλους κόπτοντες
2 ἐσιτέοντο· σῖτος γὰρ ἐπιλελοίπει τὴν στρατιήν·
καὶ κακῶς ἤδη ὑπὸ λιμοῦ ἔχοντες ἔπλωον τήν τε
ἡμέρην καὶ τὴν νύκτα, καὶ ὁρμίζονται πρὸς
3 αἰγιαλῷ ἐρήμῳ. Νέαρχος δὲ καταδείσας μὴ ἄρα
ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐκβάντες ἀπολείποιεν τὰς νέας ὑπὸ
ἀθυμίης, ἐπὶ τῷδε μετεώρους ἔσχε τὰς νέας ἐπ᾽
4 ἀγκυρέων. Ἐνθένδε ἀναχθέντες ἐς Κανάτην
ὁρμίζονται, σταδίους ὡς ἑπτακοσίους καὶ πεντή-
κοντα διεκπλώσαντες. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ αἰγιαλὸς ἐν
5 αὐτῷ καὶ διώρυχες βραχέαι. Ἔνθενδε δὲ στα-
δίους ὀκτακοσίους πλώσαντες ἐν Τροῖσιν ὁρμί-
ζονται· κῶμαι δὲ σμικραὶ καὶ πονηραὶ ἐπῆσαν·
καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄνθρωποι ἐκλείπουσι τὰ οἰκήια, αὐτοὶ
δὲ σίτῳ τινὶ ὀλίγῳ ἐπιτυγχάνουσι, καὶ βαλά-
νοισιν ἐκ φοινίκων· καὶ καμήλους ἑπτὰ ὅσαι
ἐγκατελείφθησαν κατακόψαντες, ἀπὸ τουτέων τὰ
6 κρέα ἐσιτέοντο. Ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἕω ἀναχθέντες
σταδίους τριηκοσίους πλώουσι, καὶ κατορμίζονται
ἐς Δαγάσειρα· ἔνθα νομάδες τινὲς ἄνθρωποι
7 ᾤκεον. Ἔνθεν δὲ ἄραντες τήν τε νύκτα καὶ τὴν

flour what they got from the fish; and loaves of corn flour they used as a delicacy. When, however, they had shown all they had, the Greeks provisioned themselves from what was there, and put to sea, anchoring by a headland which the inhabitants regarded as sacred to the Sun: the headland was called Bageia.

XXIX. Thence, weighing anchor about midnight, they voyaged another thousand stades to Talmena, a harbour giving good anchorage. Thence they went to Canasis, a deserted town, four hundred stades farther; here they found a well sunk; and near by were growing wild date-palms. They cut out the hearts[1] of these and ate them; for the army had run short of food. In fact they were now really distressed by hunger, and sailed on therefore by day and night, and anchored off a desolate shore. But Nearchus, afraid that they would disembark and leave their ships from faint-heartedness, purposely kept the ships in the open roadstead. They sailed thence and anchored at Canate, after a voyage of seven hundred and fifty stades. Here there are a beach and shallow channels. Thence they sailed eight hundred stades, anchoring at Troea; there were small and poverty-stricken villages on the coast. The inhabitants deserted their huts and the Greeks found there a small quantity of corn, and dates from the palms. They slaughtered seven camels which had been left there, and ate the flesh of them. About daybreak they weighed anchor and sailed three hundred stades, and anchored at Dagaseira; there some wandering tribe dwelt. Sailing thence they sailed without stop all night and

[1] The clusters of young leaves have a "heart" like that of the lettuce which is worth eating.

ἡμέρην οὐδέν τι ἐλινύοντες ἔπλωον· ἀλλὰ διελ-
θόντες γὰρ σταδίους χιλίους τε καὶ ἑκατὸν
ἐξέπλωσαν τὸ ἔθνος τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων, πολλὰ
κακὰ ταύτῃ παθόντες ἀπορίῃ τῶν ἀναγκαίων.
8 Ὁρμίζονται δὲ οὐ πρὸς τῇ γῇ· ῥηχίη γὰρ ἦν
ἐπὶ πολλὸν ἀνέχουσα, ἀλλὰ μετέωροι ἐπ᾽ ἀγκυ-
ρέων· μῆκος τοῦ παράπλου τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων
τῆς χώρης ὀλίγῳ πλεῦνες στάδιοι καὶ[1] μύριοι.
9 Οὗτοι δὲ οἱ Ἰχθυοφάγοι σιτέονται, κατότι περ
καὶ κληίζονται, ἰχθύας· ὀλίγοι μὲν αὐτῶν
ἁλιεύοντες τοὺς ἰχθύας· ὀλίγοισι γὰρ καὶ πλοῖα
ἐπὶ τῷδε πεποίηται καὶ τέχνη ἐξεύρηται ἐπὶ τῇ
θήρῃ τῶν ἰχθύων, τὸ πολλὸν δὲ ἡ ἀνάπωτις
10 αὐτοῖσι παρέχει. Οἱ δὲ καὶ δίκτυα ἐπὶ τῷδε
πεποίηνται, μέγεθος καὶ ἐς δύο σταδίους τὰ
πολλὰ αὐτῶν· πλέκουσι δὲ αὐτὰ ἐκ τοῦ φλοιοῦ
τῶν φοινίκων, στρέφοντες τὸν φλοιὸν ὥσπερ
11 λίνον· ἐπεὰν δὲ ἡ θάλασσα ὑπονοστήσῃ, καὶ γῆ
ὑπολειφθῇ, ἵνα μὲν ξηρὴ ἡ γῆ ὑπολείπεται,
ἐρήμη τὸ πολλόν ἐστιν ἰχθύων· ἔνθα δὲ βαθέα
ἐστίν, ὑπολείπεταί τι τοῦ ὕδατος, καὶ ἐν τῷδε
κάρτα πολλοὶ ἰχθύες· οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ σμικροὶ
αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ καὶ μέζονες· τούτοισι περιβάλ-
12 λοντες τὰ δίκτυα αἱρέουσι. Σιτέονται δὲ ὠμοὺς
μέν, ὅκως ἀνειρύουσιν ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος, τοὺς ἁπα-
λωτάτους αὐτῶν· τοὺς δὲ μέζονάς τε καὶ σκλη-
ροτέρους ὑπὸ ἡλίῳ αὐαίνοντες, εὖτ᾽ ἂν ἀφαυαν-
θῶσι, καταλοῦντες ἄλευρα ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν ποιέονται
καὶ ἄρτους· οἱ δὲ μάζας ἐκ τούτων τῶν ἀλεύρων
13 πέσσουσι. Καὶ τὰ βοσκήματα αὐτοῖσι τοὺς
ἰχθύας ξηροὺς σιτέονται· ἡ γὰρ χώρη ἔρημος

[1] καί is intelligible; but Hercher gives ἤ.

day, and after a voyage of eleven hundred stades they got past the country of the Fish-eaters, where they had been much distressed by want of food. They did not moor near shore, for there was a long line of surf, but at anchor, in the open. The length of the voyage along the coast of the Fish-eaters is a little above ten thousand stades. These Fish-eaters live on fish; and hence their name; only a few of them fish, for only a few have proper boats and have any skill in the art of catching fish; but for the most part it is the receding tide which provides their catch. Some have made nets also for this kind of fishing; most of them about two stades in length. They make the nets from the bark of the date-palm, twisting the bark like twine. And when the sea recedes and the earth is left, where the earth remains dry it has no fish, as a rule; but where there are hollows, some of the water remains, and in this a large number of fish, mostly small, but some large ones too. They throw their nets over these and so catch them. They eat them raw, just as they take them from the water, that is, the more tender kinds; the larger ones, which are tougher, they dry in the sun till they are quite sere and then pound them and make a flour and bread of them; others even make cakes of this flour. Even their flocks are fed on the fish, dried; for the country has no meadows

14 λειμώνων, οὐδὲ ποίην φέρει. Θηρεύουσι δὲ καὶ
καράβους πολλαχῇ καὶ ὄστρεα καὶ τὰ κογχύλια·
ἅλες δὲ αὐτόματοι γίνονται ἐν τῇ χώρῃ· * * *
15 ἀπὸ τούτων ἔλαιον ποιέουσιν. Οἱ μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν
ἐρήμους τόπους οἰκέουσιν, ἄδενδρόν τε τὴν χώρην
καὶ ἄφορον καρπῶν ἡμέρων, τούτοισιν ἀπὸ τῶν
ἰχθύων ἡ πᾶσα δίαιτα πεποίηται· ὀλίγοι δὲ
αὐτῶν σπείρουσιν ὅσον τῆς χώρης, καὶ τούτῳ
κατάπερ ὄψῳ χρέονται πρὸς τοὺς ἰχθύας· ὁ γὰρ
16 σῖτος αὐτοῖσιν εἰσὶν ἰχθύες. Οἰκία δὲ πεποίην-
ται οἱ μὲν εὐδαιμονέστατοι αὐτῶν, ὅσα κήτεα
ἐκβάλλει ἡ θάλασσα, τούτων τὰ ὀστέα ἐπιλεγό-
μενοι, καὶ τούτοισιν ἀντὶ ξύλων χρεόμενοι· καὶ
θύρας τὰ ὀστέα ὅσα πλατέα αὐτῶν ἁλίσκεται ἀπὸ
τούτων ποιέονται· τοῖσι δὲ πολλοῖσι καὶ πενε-
στέροισιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκανθέων τῶν ἰχθύων τὰ οἰκία
ποιέεται.

XXX. Κήτεα δὲ μεγάλα ἐν τῇ ἔξω θαλάσσῃ
βόσκεται, καὶ ἰχθύες πολλῷ μέζονες ἢ ἐν τῇδε τῇ
2 εἴσω· καὶ λέγει Νέαρχος, ὁκότε ἀπὸ Κυΐζων
παρέπλωον, ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω ὀφθῆναι ὕδωρ ἄνω
ἀναφυσώμενον τῆς θαλάσσης, οἷά περ ἐκ πρη-
3 στήρων βίᾳ ἀναφερόμενον· ἐκπλαγέντας δὲ σφᾶς
πυνθάνεσθαι τῶν κατηγεομένων τοῦ πλόου ὅ
τι εἴη καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τοῦτο τὸ πάθημα· τοὺς δὲ
ἀποκρίνασθαι ὅτι κήτεα ταῦτα φερόμενα κατὰ
τὸν πόντον ἀναφυσᾷ ἐς τὸ ἄνω τὸ ὕδωρ· καὶ τοῖσι
ναύτῃσιν ἐκπλαγεῖσιν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν τὰ ἐρετμὰ
4 ἐκπεσεῖν· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπιὼν παρακαλέειν τε καὶ
θαρσύνειν, καὶ κατ' οὕστινας παραπλώων ἐγέ-
νετο, ἐς μέτωπόν τε κελεῦσαι καταστῆσαι ὡς
ἐπὶ ναυμαχίῃ τὰς νέας, καὶ ἐπαλαλάζοντας ὁμοῦ

and produces no grass. They collect also in many places crabs and oysters and shell-fish. There are natural salts in the country; from these [1] they make oil. Those of them who inhabit the desert parts of their country, treeless as it is and with no cultivated parts, find all their sustenance in the fish; but a few of them sow part of their district, using the corn as a relish to the fish, for the fish form their bread. The richest among them have built huts; they collect the bones of any large fish which the sea casts up, and use them in place of beams. Doors they make from any flat bones which they can pick up. But the greater part of them, and the poorer sort, have huts made from the fishes' backbones.

XXX.[2] Large whales live in the outer ocean, and fishes much larger than those in our inland sea. Nearchus states that when they left Cyiza, about daybreak they saw water being blown upwards from the sea as it might be shot upwards by the force of a waterspout. They were astonished, and asked the pilots of the convoy what it might be and how it was caused; they replied that these whales as they rove about the ocean spout up the water to a great height; the sailors, however, were so startled that the oars fell from their hands. Nearchus went and encouraged and cheered them, and whenever he sailed past any vessel, he signalled them to turn the ship's bow on towards the whales as if to give them battle; and raising their battle cry with the sound

[1] Some name of a fish, perhaps tunny, is omitted.

[2] The story in this chapter appears also in Strabo (p. 725). The Greek style is unlike Arrian's ordinary style.

τῷ ῥοθίῳ[1] πυκνήν τε καὶ ξὺν κτύπῳ πολλῷ τὴν
5 εἰρεσίην ποιέεσθαι· οὕτως ἀναθαρσήσαντας ὁμοῦ
δὴ πλώειν ἀπὸ ξυνθήματος· ὡς δὲ ἐπέλαζον ἤδη
τοῖσι θηρίοισιν, ἐνταῦθα αὐτοὺς μὲν ὅσον αἱ
κεφαλαὶ[2] αὐτοῖσιν ἐχώρεον ἐπαλαλάξαι· τὰς δὲ
σάλπιγγας σημῆναι, καὶ τὸν κτύπον ἀπὸ τῆς
6 εἰρεσίης ὡς ἐπὶ μήκιστον κατασχεῖν· οὕτω δὴ
ὁρώμενα ἤδη κατὰ τὰς πρῴρας τῶν νεῶν τὰ
κήτεα ἐς βυσσὸν δῦναι ἐκπλαγέντα, καὶ οὐ
πολλῷ ὕστερον κατὰ τὰς πρύμνας ἀναδύντα
7 ἀνασχεῖν, καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης αὖθις ἀναφυσῆσαι
ἐπὶ μέγα· ἔνθεν κρότους τε ἐπὶ τῇ παραλόγῳ
σωτηρίῃ γενέσθαι τῶν ναυτέων, καὶ αἶνον ἐς τὸν
8 Νέαρχον τῆς τε τόλμης καὶ τῆς σοφίης. Τούτων
μετεξέτερα τῶν κητέων ἐποκέλλειν πολλαχοῦ
τῆς χώρης, ἐπειδὰν ἀνάπωτις κατάσχῃ ἐν τοῖσι
βραχέσιν ἐχόμενα, τὰ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ χειμώνων
σκληρῶν ἐς τὴν χέρσον ἐξωθέεσθαι καὶ οὕτω δὴ
κατασηπόμενα ἀπόλλυσθαί τε καὶ τὰς σάρκας
αὐτοῖσι περιρρεούσας ὑπολείπειν τὰ ὀστέα χρᾶσ-
9 θαι τοῖσιν ἀνθρώποισιν ἐς τὰ οἰκία· εἶναι ὦν τὰ
μὲν ἐν τῇσι πλευρῇσιν αὐτῶν ὀστέα δοκοὺς τοῖσιν
οἰκήμασιν ὅσα μεγάλα, τὰ δὲ σμικρότερα, στρω-
τῆρας· τὰ δὲ ἐν τῇσι σιαγόσι, ταῦτα δὲ εἶναι τὰ
θύρετρα, οἷα δὴ πολλῶν καὶ εἰς εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε
ὀργυιὰς ἀνηκόντων τὸ μέγεθος.

XXXI. Εὖτ' ἂν δὲ παρέπλωον τὴν χώρην τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων, λόγον ἀκούουσι περὶ νήσου τινός, ἣ κέεται μὲν ἀπέχουσα τῆς ταύτῃ ἠπείρου

[1] ὀρθίῳ Hercher.

[2] κεφαλαὶ is unsuspected by editors: Chantraine translates à *tue-tête*. It may be the whole for the part, "head" for "throat."

of the surge to row with rapid strokes and with a great deal of noise. So they all took heart of grace and sailed together according to signal. But when they actually were nearing the monsters, then they shouted with all the power of their throats, and the bugles blared, and the rowers made the utmost splashings with their oars. So the whales, now visible at the bows of the ships, were scared, and dived into the depths; then not long afterwards they came up astern and spouted the sea-water on high. Thereupon joyful applause welcomed this unexpected salvation, and much praise was showered on Nearchus for his courage and prudence. Some of these whales go ashore at different parts of the coast; and when the ebb comes, they are caught in the shallows; and some even were cast ashore high and dry; thus they would perish and decay, and their flesh rotting off them would leave the bones convenient to be used by the natives for their huts. Moreover, the bones in their ribs served for the larger beams for their dwellings; and the smaller for rafters; the jawbones were the doorposts, since many of these whales reached a length of five-and-twenty fathoms.

XXXI. While they were coasting along the territory of the Fish-eaters, they heard a rumour about an island,[1] which lies some little distance from the mainland in this direction, about a hundred

[1] This island we have had already in Ch. XXVI. Arrian is clearly using different authorities, and has not always harmonized them.

σταδίους ἐς ἑκατὸν, ἐρήμη δέ ἐστιν οἰκητόρων.
2 Ταύτην ἱρὴν ἡλίου ἔλεγον εἶναι οἱ ἐπιχώριοι καὶ
Νόσαλα καλέεσθαι, οὐδέ τινα ἀνθρώπων καταί-
ρειν ἐθέλειν ἐς αὐτήν· ὅστις δ' ἂν ἀπειρίῃ προσχῇ,
3 γίνεσθαι ἀφανέα. Ἀλλὰ λέγει Νέαρχος, κέρ-
κουρόν σφιν ἕνα πλήρωμα ἔχοντα Αἰγυπτίων οὐ
πόρρω τῆς νήσου ταύτης γενέσθαι ἀφανέα, καὶ
ὑπὲρ τούτου τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τοῦ πλόου διισχυρί-
ζεσθαι, ὅτι ἄρα κατάραντες ὑπ' ἀγνοίης εἰς τὴν
4 νῆσον γένοιντο ἀφανέες. Νέαρχος δὲ πέμπει
κύκλῳ περὶ τὴν νῆσον τριηκόντορον, κελεύσας
μὴ κατασχεῖν μὲν ἐς τὴν νῆσον, ἐμβοᾶν δὲ τοὺς
ἀνθρώπους, ὡς μάλιστα ἐν χρῷ παραπλώοντας,
καὶ τὸν κυβερνήτην ὀνομάζοντας καὶ ὅτου ἄλλου
5 οὐκ ἀφανὲς τὸ οὔνομα· ὡς δὲ οὐδένα ὑπακούειν,
τότε δὲ αὐτὸς λέγει πλῶσαι ἐς τὴν νῆσον, καὶ
κατασχεῖν δὴ προσαναγκάσαι τοὺς ναύτας οὐκ
ἐθέλοντας· καὶ ἐκβῆναι αὐτὸς καὶ ἐλέγξαι κενὸν
6 μῦθον ἐόντα τὸν περὶ τῇ νήσῳ λόγον· ἀκοῦσαι δὲ
καὶ ἄλλον λόγον ὑπὲρ τῆς νήσου ταύτης λεγό-
μενον, οἰκῆσαι τὴν νῆσον ταύτην μίαν τῶν
Νηρηΐδων· τὸ δὲ οὔνομα οὐ λέγεσθαι τῆς Νηρηΐ-
δος· ταύτῃ δὲ ὅστις πελάσειε τῇ νήσῳ, τούτῳ
συγγίνεσθαι μέν, ἰχθὺν δὲ ἐξ ἀνθρώπου ποιέου-
7 σαν αὐτὸν ἐμβάλλειν ἐς τὸν πόντον· Ἥλιον δὲ
ἀχθεσθέντα τῇ Νηρηΐδι, κελεύειν μετοικίζεσθαι
αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς νήσου· τὴν δὲ ὁμολογέειν μὲν ὅτι
ἐξοικισθήσεται, δέεσθαι δέ οἱ τὸ πάθημα παυ-
8 θῆναι· καὶ τὸν Ἥλιον ὑποδέξασθαι· τοὺς δὲ δὴ
ἀνθρώπους οὕστινας ἂν ἰχθύας ἐξ ἀνθρώπων
πεποίηκε κατελεήσαντα, ἀνθρώπους αὖθις ἐξ
ἰχθύων ποιῆσαι· καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν Ἰχθυοφά-

stades, but is uninhabited. The natives said that it was sacred to the Sun and was called Nosala, and that no human being ever of his own will put in there; but that anyone who ignorantly touched there at once disappeared. Nearchus, however, says that one of his galleys with an Egyptian crew was lost with all hands not far from this island, and that the pilots stoutly averred about it that they had touched ignorantly on the island and so had disappeared. But Nearchus sent a thirty-oar to sail round the island, with orders not to put in, but that the crew should shout loudly, while coasting round as near as they dared; and should call on the lost helmsman by name, or any of the crew whose name they knew. As no one answered, he tells us that he himself sailed up to the island, and compelled his unwilling crew to put in; then he went ashore and exploded this island fairy-tale. They heard also another current story about this island, that one of the Nereids dwelt there; but the name of this Nereid was not told. She showed much friendliness to any sailor who approached the island; but then turned him into a fish and threw him into the sea. The Sun then became irritated with the Nereid, and bade her leave the island; and she agreed to remove thence, but begged that the spell on her be removed; the Sun consented; and such human beings as she had turned into fishes he pitied, and turned them again from fishes into human beings, and hence arose the people called Fish-eaters, and so they

γων τὸ γένος καὶ εἰς Ἀλέξανδρον κατελθεῖν.
9 Καὶ ταῦτα ὅτι ψεύδεα ἐξελέγχει Νέαρχος, οὐκ
ἐπαινέω αὐτὸν ἔγωγε τῆς σχολῆς τε καὶ σοφίης,
οὔτε κάρτα χαλεπὰ ἐξελεγχθῆναι ἐόντα, ταλαί-
πωρόν τ' ἐὸν γινώσκων τοὺς παλαιοὺς λόγους
ἐπιλεγόμενον ἐξελέγχειν ἐόντας ψευδέας.

XXXII. Ὑπὲρ τοὺς Ἰχθυοφάγους Γαδρώσιοι
ἐς τὸ ἄνω οἰκέουσι γῆν πονηρὴν καὶ ψαμμώδεα·
ἔνθεν καὶ τὰ πολλὰ κακὰ ἡ στρατιή τε Ἀλε-
ξάνδρῳ ἔπαθε καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος, ὥς μοι ἤδη
2 ἐν τῷ ἄλλῳ λόγῳ ἀπήγηται. Ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν
Καρμανίην ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων κατῆρεν ὁ
στρατός, ἐνταῦθα ἵνα πρῶτον τῆς Καρμανίης
ὡρμίσαντο, ἐπ' ἀγκυρέων ἐσάλευσαν, ὅτι ῥηχίη
3 παρετέτατο ἐς τὸ πέλαγος τρηχέα. Ἐνθένδε δὲ
ὡσαύτως οὐκέτι πρὸς ἡλίου δυομένου ἔπλωον,
ἀλλὰ τὸ μεταξὺ δύσιός τε ἡλίου καὶ τῆς ἄρκτου
4 οὕτω μᾶλλόν τι αἱ πρῷραι αὐτοῖσιν ἐπεῖχον· καὶ
οὕτω ἡ Καρμανίη τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων τῆς γῆς καὶ
τῶν Ὠρειτέων εὐδενδροτέρη τε καὶ εὐκαρποτέρη
5 ἐστί, καὶ ποιώδης μᾶλλόν τι καὶ ἔνυδρος. Ὁρμί-
ζονται δὲ ἐν Βάδει χώρῳ τῆς Καρμανίης οἰκεο-
μένῳ, δένδρεά τε πολλὰ ἥμερα πεφυκότα ἔχοντι
πλὴν ἐλαίης, καὶ ἀμπέλους ἀγαθάς, καὶ σιτοφόρῳ.
6 Ἐνθένδε ὁρμηθέντες καὶ διεκπλώσαντες σταδίους
ὀκτακοσίους, πρὸς αἰγιαλῷ ὁρμίζονται ἐρήμῳ,
καὶ κατορῶσιν ἄκρην μακρὴν ἐξανέχουσαν ἐπὶ
πολλὸν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος· ἀπέχειν δὲ ἐφαίνετο ἡ
7 ἄκρη πλόον ὡς ἡμέρης. Καὶ οἱ τῶν χώρων
ἐκείνων δαήμονες τῆς Ἀραβίης ἔλεγον τὴν
ἀνίσχουσαν ταύτην ἄκρην, καλέεσθαι δὲ Μάκετα·
ἔνθεν τὰ κινάμωμά τε καὶ ἄλλα τοιουτότροπα

descended to Alexander's day. Nearchus shows that all this is mere legend; but I have no commendation for his pains and his scholarship; the stories are easy enough to demolish; and I regard it as tedious to relate these old tales and then prove them all false.

XXXII. Beyond these Fish-eaters the Gadrosians inhabit the interior, a poor and sandy territory; this was where Alexander's army and Alexander himself suffered so seriously, as I have already related in my other book. But when the fleet, leaving the Fish-eaters, put in at Carmania, they anchored in the open, at the point where they first touched Carmania; since there was a long and rough line of surf parallel with the coast. From there they sailed no further due west, but took a new course and steered with their bows pointing between north and west. Carmania is better wooded than the country of the Fish-eaters, and bears more fruits; it has more grass, and is well watered. They moored at an inhabited place called Badis, in Carmania; with many cultivated trees growing, except the olive tree, and good vines; it also produced corn. Thence they set out and voyaged eight hundred stades, and moored off a desert shore; and they sighted a long cape jutting out far into the ocean; it seemed as if the headland itself was a day's sail away. Those who had knowledge of the district said that this promontory belonged to Arabia, and was called Maceta; and that thence the Assyrians imported cinnamon and

8 ἐς Ἀσσυρίους ἀγινέεσθαι· καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ τούτου, ἵναπερ ὁ στόλος ἐσάλευε, καὶ τῆς ἄκρης, ἥντινα καταντικρὺ ἀπεώρων ἀνέχουσαν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ὁ κόλπος (ἐμοί τε δοκέει καὶ Νεάρχῳ ὡσαύτως ἐδόκεεν) ἐς τὸ εἴσω ἀναχέεται, ὅπερ
9 εἰκὸς ἡ Ἐρυθρὴ θάλασσα. Ταύτην τὴν ἄκρην ὡς κατεῖδον, Ὀνησίκριτος μὲν ἐπέχοντας ἐπ' αὐτὴν πλώειν ἐκέλευεν, ὡς μὴ κατὰ τὸν κόλπον
10 ἐλαστρεύοντας ταλαιπωρέεσθαι. Νέαρχος δὲ ἀποκρίνεται νήπιον εἶναι Ὀνησίκριτον, εἰ ἀγνοέει
11 ἐπ' ὅτῳ ἐστάλη πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου ὁ στόλος· οὐ γὰρ ὅτι ἀπορίη ἦν πεζῇ διασωθῆναι πάντα αὐτῷ τὸν στρατόν, ἐπὶ τῷδε ἄρα ἐκπέμψαι τὰς νέας, ἀλλὰ ἐθέλοντα αἰγιαλούς τε τοὺς κατὰ τὸν παράπλουν κατασκέψασθαι καὶ ὅρμους καὶ νησῖδας, καὶ ὅστις κόλπος ἐσέχοι, ἐκπεριπλῶσαι τοῦτον, καὶ πόλιας ὅσαι ἐπιθαλάσσιαι, καὶ εἴ τις ἔγκαρπος γῆ, καὶ εἴ τις
12 ἐρήμη. Σφᾶς ὦν οὐ χρῆναι ἀφανίσαι τὸ ἔργον, πρὸς τέρματι ἤδη ἐόντας τῶν πόνων, ἄλλως τε οὐδὲ ἀπόρως ἔτι τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐν τῷ παράπλῳ ἔχοντας· δεδιέναι τε, ὅτι ἡ ἄκρη ἐς μεσημβρίην ἀνέχει, μὴ ἐρήμῳ τε τῇ ταύτῃ γῇ καὶ ἀνύδρῳ καὶ
13 φλογώδει ἐγκύρσειαν. Ταῦτα ἐνίκα, καί μοι δοκέει περιφανέως σῶσαι τὴν στρατιὴν τῇδε τῇ βουλῇ Νέαρχος· τὴν γὰρ δὴ ἄκρην ἐκείνην καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτῇ χώρην πᾶσαν ἐρήμην τε εἶναι λόγος κατέχει, καὶ ὕδατος ἀπορίῃ ἔχεσθαι.

XXXIII. Ἀλλὰ ἔπλωον γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἄραντες τῇ γῇ προσεχέες· καὶ πλώσαντες σταδίους ὡς ἑπτακοσίους ἐν ἄλλῳ αἰγιαλῷ ὡρμί-

other spices. From this beach off which the fleet anchored in the open roadstead, and the promontory, which they sighted opposite them, running out into the sea, the bay (this is my opinion, and Nearchus held the same) runs back into the interior, and would seem to be the Red Sea.[1] When they sighted this cape, Onesicritus bade them take their course from it and sail direct to it, in order not to have the trouble of coasting round the bay. Nearchus, however, replied that Onesicritus was a fool, if he was ignorant of Alexander's purpose in despatching the expedition. It was not because he was unequal to the bringing all his force safely through on foot that he had despatched the fleet; but he desired to reconnoitre the coasts that lay on the line of the voyage, the roadsteads, the islets; to explore thoroughly any bay which appeared, and to learn of any cities which lay on the sea-coast; and to find out what land was fruitful, and what was desert. They must therefore not spoil Alexander's undertaking, especially when they were almost at the close of their toils, and were, moreover, no longer in any difficulty about provisions on their coasting cruise. His own fear was, since the cape ran a long way southward, that they would find the land there waterless and sun-scorched. This view prevailed; and I think that Nearchus evidently saved the expeditionary force by this decision; for it is generally held that this cape and the country about it are entirely desert and quite denuded of water.

XXXIII. They sailed then, leaving this part of the shore, hugging the land; and after voyaging some seven hundred stades they anchored off another

[1] Meaning the Persian Gulf.

2 σαντο· Νεόπτανα οὔνομα τῷ αἰγιαλῷ. Καὶ αὖθις ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω ἀνήγοντο, καὶ πλώσαντες σταδίους ἑκατὸν ὁρμίζονται κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν Ἄναμιν· ὁ δὲ χῶρος Ἁρμόζεια ἐκαλέετο. Φίλια[1] δὲ ἤδη καὶ πάμφορα ταύτῃ ἦν, πλὴν ἐλαῖαι οὐ
3 πεφύκεσαν. Ἐνταῦθα ἐκβαίνουσί τε ἐκ τῶν νεῶν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν πόνων ἄσμενοι ἀνεπαύοντο, μεμνημένοι ὅσα κακὰ κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν πεπονθότες ἦσαν, καὶ πρὸς τῇ γῇ τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων, τήν τε ἐρημίην τῆς χώρης, καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὅκως θηριώδεες, καὶ τὰς σφῶν
4 ἀπορίας ἐπιλεγόμενοι. Καί τινες αὐτῶν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐς τὸ πρόσω ἀνῆλθον, ἀποσκεδασθέντες
5 τῆς στρατιῆς κατὰ ζήτησιν ἄλλος ἄλλου. Ἐνταῦθα ἄνθρωπος σφίσιν ὤφθη χλαμύδα τε φορέων Ἑλληνικὴν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὡς Ἕλλην ἐσκευασμένος, καὶ φωνὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐφώνεε. Τοῦτον οἱ πρῶτοι ἰδόντες δακρῦσαι ἔλεγον· οὕτω τι παράλογον σφίσι φανῆναι ἐκ τῶν τοσῶνδε κακῶν Ἕλληνα μὲν ἄνθρωπον ἰδεῖν, Ἑλλάδος δὲ φωνῆς ἀκοῦσαι·
6 ἐπηρώτων τε ὁκόθεν ἥκοι, καὶ ὅστις ἐών· ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀποσκεδασθῆναι ἔλεγε, καὶ εἶναι οὐ πόρρω τὸ στρατόπεδον
7 καὶ αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον· τοῦτον τὸν ἄνθρωπον βοῶντές τε καὶ κροτέοντες ἀνάγουσι παρὰ τὸν Νέαρχον· καὶ Νεάρχῳ πάντα ἔφρασε, καὶ ὅτι πέντε ἡμερέων ὁδὸν ἀπέχει τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ
8 ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης· τόν τε ὕπαρχον τῆς χώρης ταύτης δείξειν ἔφη Νεάρχῳ, καὶ ἔδειξε· καὶ μετὰ τούτου Νέαρχος γνώμην ποιέεται,
9 ὅκως ἀναβήσεται πρὸς βασιλέα. Τότε μὲν δὴ

[1] φίλια, Hercher δαψιλέα.

beach, called Neoptana. Then at dawn they moved off seaward, and after traversing a hundred stades they moored by the river Anamis; the district was called Harmozeia. All here was friendly, and produced fruit of all sorts, except that olives did not grow there. There they disembarked, and had a welcome rest from their long toils, remembering the miseries they had endured by sea and on the coast of the Fish-eaters; recounting one to another the desolate character of the country, the almost bestial nature of the inhabitants, and their own distresses. Some of them advanced some distance inland, breaking away from the main force, some in pursuit of this, and some of that. There a man appeared to them, wearing a Greek cloak, and dressed otherwise in the Greek fashion, and speaking Greek also. Those who first sighted him said that they burst into tears, so strange did it seem after all these miseries to see a Greek, and to hear Greek spoken. They asked whence he came, who he was; and he said that he had become separated from Alexander's camp, and that the camp, and Alexander himself, were not very far distant. Shouting aloud and clapping their hands they brought this man to Nearchus; and he told Nearchus everything, and that the camp and the King himself were distant five days' journey from the coast. He also promised to show Nearchus the governor of this district and did so; and Nearchus took counsel with him how to march inland to meet the King. For the moment

ἐπὶ τὰς νέας ἀπῆλθον· ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἕω τὰς νέας ἐνεώλκεεν, ἐπισκευῆς τε εἵνεκα, ὅσαι αὐτέων κατὰ τὸν πλόον πεπονήκεσαν, καὶ ἅμα ὅτι ἐν τῷ χώρῳ τούτῳ ὑπολείπεσθαί οἱ ἐδόκεε τὸν πολλὸν στρατόν· χάρακά τε ὧν περιβάλλεται διπλόον ἐπὶ τῷ ναυστάθμῳ, καὶ τεῖχος γήινον καὶ τάφρον βαθέην, ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῆς ὄχθης ἀρξάμενος, ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸν αἰγιαλόν, ἵνα αἱ νέες αὐτῷ ἀνειρυσμέναι ἦσαν.

XXXIV. Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ὁ Νέαρχος ταῦτα ἐκόσμεε,
τῆς χώρης ὁ ὕπαρχος πεπυσμένος ὅκως ἐν μεγάλῃ
φροντίδι ἔχοι Ἀλέξανδρος τὰ ἀμφὶ τὸν στόλον
τοῦτον, μέγα δή τι ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀγαθὸν ἂν[1]
ἔγνω πείσεσθαι, εἰ πρῶτος οἱ ἀπαγγείλειε τοῦ
στρατοῦ τὴν σωτηρίην καὶ τοῦ Νεάρχου, ὅτι
οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἀπίξεται ἐς ὄψιν τὴν βασιλέος.
2 Οὕτω δὴ τὴν βραχυτάτην ἐλάσας ἀπαγγέλλει
Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ὅτι Νέαρχος οὗτος προσάγει ἀπὸ
τῶν νεῶν. Τότε μὲν δὴ καίπερ ἀπιστέων τῷ
λόγῳ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀλλὰ ἐχάρη γε κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς
3 τῇ ἀγγελίῃ. Ὡς δὲ ἡμέρη τε ἄλλη ἐξ ἄλλης
ἐγίνετο, καὶ ξυντιθέντι αὐτῷ τῆς ἀγγελίης τὸν
χρόνον οὐκέτι πιστὰ τὰ ἐξηγγελμένα ἐφαίνετο,
4 πεμπόμενοί τε ἄλλοι ἐπ' ἄλλοισιν ὡς ἐπὶ κομιδῇ
τοῦ Νεάρχου, οἱ μέν τινες ὀλίγον τῆς ὁδοῦ
προελθόντες κενοὶ ἐπανήεσαν οὐδενὶ ἐγκύρσαντες·
οἱ δὲ καὶ πορρωτέρω ἐλθόντες, καὶ διαμαρτόντες
τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Νέαρχον, οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ ἐπανήεσαν,
5 ἐνταῦθα δὴ τὸν μὲν ἄνθρωπον ἐκεῖνον, ὡς κενά
τε ἀγγείλαντα καὶ λυπηρότερά οἱ τὰ πρήγματα
ποιήσαντα τῇ ματαίῃ εὐφροσύνῃ, συλλαβεῖν

[1] Hercher omits ἄν.

indeed he returned to the ship; but at dawn he had the ships drawn up on shore, to repair any which had been damaged on the voyage; and also because he had determined to leave the greater part of his force behind here. So he had a double stockade built round the ships' station, and a mud wall with a deep trench, beginning from the bank of the river and going on to the beach, where his ships had been dragged ashore.

XXXIV. While Nearchus was busied with these arrangements, the governor of the country, who had been told that Alexander felt the deepest concern about this expedition, took for granted that he would receive some great reward from Alexander if he should be the first to tell him of the safety of the expeditionary force, and that Nearchus would presently appear before the King. So then he hastened by the shortest route and told Alexander: "See, here is Nearchus coming from the ships." On this Alexander, though not believing what was told him, yet, as he naturally would be, was pleased by the news itself. But when day succeeded day, and Alexander, reckoning the time when he received the good news, could not any longer believe it, when, moreover, relay sent after relay, to escort Nearchus, either went a part of the route, and meeting no one, came back unsuccessful, or went on further, and missing Nearchus' party, did not themselves return at all, then Alexander bade the man be arrested for spreading a false tale and making things all the worse by this false happiness; and Alexander

κελεύει Ἀλέξανδρος· αὐτὸς δὲ τῇ τε ὄψι καὶ
τῇ γνώμῃ δῆλος ἦν μεγάλῳ ἄχεϊ βεβλημένος.
6 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῶν τινες κατὰ ζήτησιν τοῦ Νεάρχου
ἐσταλμένων ἵππους τε ἐπὶ κομιδῇ αὐτῶν καὶ
ἀπήνας δὲ ἄγοντες ἐντυγχάνουσι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν
αὐτῷ τε Νεάρχῳ καὶ τῷ Ἀρχίῃ, καὶ πέντε ἢ ἓξ
7 ἅμα αὐτοῖσι· μετὰ τοσούτων γὰρ ἀνῄει. Καὶ ἐν-
τυχόντες οὔτε αὐτὸν ἐγνώρισαν οὔτε τὸν Ἀρχίην·
οὕτω τοι κάρτα ἀλλοῖοι ἐφάνησαν, κομόωντές τε
καὶ ῥυπόωντες καὶ μεστοὶ ἅλμης, καὶ ῥικνοὶ τὰ
σώματα, καὶ ὠχροὶ ὑπὸ ἀγρυπνίης τε καὶ τῆς
8 ἄλλης ταλαιπωρίης. Ἀλλὰ ἐρομένοισι γὰρ
αὐτοῖσιν ἵναπερ εἴη Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀποκρινάμενοι
9 τὸν χῶρον οἴδε παρήλαυνον. Ἀρχίης δὲ ἐπι-
φρασθεὶς λέγει πρὸς Νέαρχον, Ὦ Νέαρχε, τού-
τους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους δι' ἐρημίης ἐλαύνειν τὴν
αὐτὴν ἡμῖν ὁδὸν οὐκ ἐπ' ἄλλῳ τινὶ συντίθημι, ἢ
ὅτι μὴ κατὰ ζήτησιν τὴν ἡμετέρην ἀπεσταλ-
10 μένους· ὅτι δὲ οὐ γινώσκουσιν ἡμέας, οὐκ ἐν
θώματι ποιέομαι· οὕτω γάρ τι ἔχομεν κακῶς, ὡς
ἄγνωστοι εἶναι· φράσωμεν αὐτοῖσιν οἵτινες εἶμεν·
καὶ τοὺς ἐρώμεθα καθ' ὅ τι ταύτην ἐλαύνουσιν.
11 Ἔδοξε τῷ Νεάρχῳ ἐναίσιμα λέγειν· καὶ ἤροντο,
ὅκοι ἐλαύνουσιν· οἱ δὲ ἀποκρίνονται, ὅτι κατὰ
ζήτησιν Νεάρχου τε καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ
12 ναυτικοῦ. Ὁ δὲ, Οὗτος, ἔφη, ἐγὼ Νέαρχος,
καὶ Ἀρχίης οὗτος· ἀλλ' ἄγετε ἡμέας· ἡμεῖς δὲ
τὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς στρατιῆς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἀπηγησό-
μεθα.

XXXV. Ἀναλαβόντες δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς ἀπήνας, ὀπίσω ἤλαυνον· καί τινες αὐτῶν τούτων ὑποφθάσαι ἐθελήσαντες τὴν ἀγγελίην, προδρα-

showed both by his looks and his mind that he was wounded with a very poignant grief. Meanwhile, however, some of those sent to search for Nearchus, who had horses to convey him, and chariots, did meet on the way Nearchus and Archias, and five or six others; that was the number of the party which came inland with him. On this meeting they recognized neither Nearchus nor Archias—so altered did they appear; with their hair long, unwashed, covered with brine, wizened, pale from sleeplessness and all their other distresses; when, however, they asked where Alexander might be, the search party gave reply as to the locality and passed on. Archias, however, had a happy thought, and said to Nearchus: "I suspect, Nearchus, that these persons who are traversing the same road as ours through this desert country have been sent for the express purpose of finding us; as for their failure to recognize us, I do not wonder at that; we are in such a sorry plight as to be unrecognizable. Let us tell them who we are, and ask them why they come hither." Nearchus approved; they did ask whither the party was going; and they replied: "To look for Nearchus and his naval force." Whereupon, "Here am I, Nearchus," said he, "and here is Archias. Do you lead on; we will make a full report to Alexander about the expeditionary force."

XXXV. The soldiers took them up in their cars and drove back again. Some of them, anxious to be beforehand with the good news, ran forward and

μόντες λέγουσιν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ὅτι Οὗτός τοι Νέαρχος, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Ἀρχίης καὶ πέντε ἄλλοι κομίζονται παρὰ σέ· ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ παντὸς
2 οὐδὲν εἶχον ὑποκρίνασθαι. Τοῦτο ἐκεῖνο συνθεὶς ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος τοὺς μὲν παραλόγως ἀποσωθῆναι, τὴν στρατιὴν δὲ πᾶσαν διεφθάρθαι αὐτῷ, οὐ τοσόνδε τοῦ Νεάρχου τε καὶ τοῦ Ἀρχίεω τῇ σωτηρίῃ ἔχαιρεν, ὅσον ἐλύπεεν αὐτὸν ἀπολομένη
3 ἡ στρατιὴ πᾶσα. Οὔπω πάντα ταῦτα εἴρητο, καὶ ὁ Νέαρχός τε καὶ ὁ Ἀρχίης προσῆγον. Τοὺς δὲ μόγις καὶ χαλεπῶς ἐπέγνω Ἀλέξανδρος· ὅτι τε κομόωντας καὶ κακῶς ἐσταλμένους κατεώρα, ταύτῃ μᾶλλόν τι βεβαιότερον αὐτῷ τὸ ἄχος ὑπὲρ τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς ναυτικῆς ἐγίνετο.
4 Ὁ δὲ τὴν δεξιὴν τῷ Νεάρχῳ ἐμβαλὼν καὶ ἀπαγαγὼν μοῦνον αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἑταίρων τε καὶ τῶν ὑπασπιστέων, πολλὸν ἐπὶ χρόνον ἐδάκρυεν·
5 ὀψὲ δὲ ἀνενεγκών, Ἀλλὰ σύ γε ἡμῖν ὅτι ἐπανήκεις σῶος, ἔφη, καὶ Ἀρχίης οὗτος, ἔχοι ἂν ἔμοιγε ὡς ἐπὶ συμφορῇ τῇ ἁπάσῃ μετρίως· αἱ δέ τοι νέες καὶ ἡ στρατιὴ κοίῳ τινὶ τρόπῳ διεφθάρησαν;
6 Ὁ δὲ ὑπολαβών, Ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἔφη, καὶ αἱ νέες τοι σῶαι εἰσὶ καὶ ὁ στρατός· ἡμεῖς δὲ οὗτοι
7 ἄγγελοι τῆς σωτηρίης αὐτῶν ἥκομεν. Ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐδάκρυεν Ἀλέξανδρος, κατότι ἀνέλπιστός οἱ ἡ σωτηρίη τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐφαίνετο· καὶ ὅκου ὁρμέουσιν αἱ νέες ἀνηρώτα· ὁ δέ, Αὗται, ἔφη, ἐν τῷ στόματι τοῦ Ἀνάμιδος ποταμοῦ ἀνειρυσμέναι
8 ἐπισκευάζονται. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τόν τε Δία τὸν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τὸν Ἄμμωνα τὸν Λιβύων ἐπόμνυσιν, ἦ μὴν μέζον ὡς ἐπὶ τῇδε τῇ ἀγγελίῃ χαίρειν,

told Alexander: "Here is Nearchus; and with him Archias and five besides, coming to your presence." They could not, however, answer any questions about the fleet. Alexander thereupon became possessed of the idea that these few had been miraculously saved, but that his whole army had perished; and did not so much rejoice at the safe arrival of Nearchus and Archias, as he was bitterly pained by the loss of all his force. Hardly had the soldiers told this much, when Nearchus and Archias approached; Alexander could only with great difficulty recognize them; and seeing them as he did long-haired and ill-clad, his grief for the whole fleet and its personnel received even greater surety. Giving his right hand to Nearchus and leading him aside from the Companions and the bodyguard, for a long time he wept; but at length recovering himself he said: "That you come back safe to us, and Archias here, the entire disaster is tempered to me; but how perished the fleet and the force?" "Sir," he replied, "your ships and men are safe; we are come to tell with our own lips of their safety." On this Alexander wept the more, since the safety of the force had seemed too good to be true; and then he enquired where the ships were anchored. Nearchus replied: "They are all drawn up at the mouth of the river Anamis, and are undergoing a refit." Alexander then called to witness Zeus of the Greeks and the Libyan Ammon that in good truth he rejoiced more at this news than because he

ἢ ὅτι τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν ἐκτημένος ἔρχεται·[1] καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὸ ἄχος οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπωλείῃ τῆς στρατιῆς ἀντίρροπον γενέσθαι τῇ ἄλλῃ πάσῃ εὐτυχίῃ.

XXXVI. Ὁ δὲ ὕπαρχος τῆς χώρης, ὅντινα συνειλήφει Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγγελίης τῇ ματαιότητι, παρεόντα κατιδὼν τὸν Νέαρχον,
2 πίπτει τε αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰ γόνατα, καί, Οὗτός τοι, ἔφη, ἐγώ εἰμι, ὃς ἀπήγγειλα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὅτι σῶοι ἥκετε· ὁρᾷς ὅκως διάκειμαι. Οὕτω δὴ δέεται Ἀλεξάνδρου Νέαρχος ἀφεῖναι τὸν ἄνδρα,
3 καὶ ἀφίεται. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ σωτήρια τοῦ στρατοῦ ἔθυε Διὶ Σωτῆρι καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι Ἀλεξικάκῳ καὶ Ποσειδῶνί τε καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι θεοὶ θαλάσσιοι· καὶ ἀγῶνα ἐποίεε γυμνικόν τε καὶ μουσικόν, καὶ πομπὴν ἔπεμπε· καὶ Νέαρχος ἐν πρώτοισιν ἐπόμπευε, ταινίῃσί τε καὶ ἄνθεσι
4 πρὸς τῆς στρατιῆς βαλλόμενος. Ὡς δὲ ταῦτά οἱ τέλος εἶχε, λέγει πρὸς Νέαρχον, Ἐγώ σε, ὦ Νέαρχε, οὐκέτι ἐθέλω τὸ πρόσω οὔτ' ἀνακινδυνεύειν, οὔτε ταλαιπωρέεσθαι· ἀλλὰ ἄλλος γὰρ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἐξηγήσεται τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε, ἔστε
5 καταστῆσαι αὐτὸ ἐς Σοῦσα. Νέαρχος δὲ ὑπολαβὼν λέγει, Ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐγὼ μέντοι πάντα πείθεσθαι ἐθέλω τε καὶ ἀναγκαίη μοι ἐστίν· ἀλλὰ εἰ δή τι καὶ σὺ ἐμοὶ χαρίζεσθαι ἐθέλεις,[2] μὴ ποιήσῃς ὧδε· ἀλλά με ἔασον ἐξηγήσασθαι ἐς ἅπαν τοῦ στρατοῦ, ἔστε σοι σώας καταστήσω ἐς
6 Σοῦσα τὰς νέας· μηδὲ τὰ μὲν χαλεπά τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄπορα ἐμοὶ ἐπιτετραμμένα ἐκ σοῦ ἔστω, τὰ

[1] Hercher ἔχει.
[2] A. ἐθέλοις. The mixed condition has, perhaps unnecessarily, troubled editors.

had conquered all Asia; since the grief he had felt at the supposed loss of the fleet cancelled all his other good fortune.

XXXVI. The governor of the province, however, whom Alexander had arrested for his false tidings, seeing Nearchus there on the spot, fell at his feet: "Here," he said, "am I, who reported your safe arrival to Alexander; you see in what plight I now am." So Nearchus begged Alexander to let him go, and he was let off. Alexander then sacrificed thank-offerings for the safety of his host, to Zeus the Saviour, Heracles, Apollo the Averter of Evil, Poseidon and all the gods of the sea; and he held a contest of art and of athletics, and also a procession; Nearchus was in the front row in the procession, and the troops showered on him ribbons and flowers. At the end of the procession Alexander said to Nearchus: "I will not let you, Nearchus, run risks or suffer distresses again like those of the past; some other admiral shall henceforth command the navy till he brings it into Susa." Nearchus, however, broke in and said: "King, I will obey you in all things, as is my bounden duty; but should you desire to do me a gracious favour, do not this thing, but let me be the admiral of your fleet right up to the end, till I bring your ships safe to Susa. Let it not be said that you entrusted me with the difficult and desperate

δὲ εὐπετέα τε καὶ κλέους ἤδη ἑτοίμου ἐχόμενα, ταῦτα δὲ ἀπαιρεθέντα ἄλλῳ ἐς χεῖρας διδόσθω.
7 Ἔτι λέγοντα παύει αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ χάριν προσωμολόγεεν εἰδέναι· οὕτω δὴ καταπέμπει αὐτόν, στρατιὴν δοὺς ἐς παραπομπὴν
8 ὡς διὰ φιλίης ἰόντι ὀλίγην. Τῷ δὲ οὐδὲ τὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἔξω πόνου ἐγένετο· ἀλλὰ συλλελεγμένοι γὰρ οἱ κύκλῳ βάρβαροι τὰ ἐρυμνὰ τῆς χώρης τῆς Καρμανίης κατεῖχον, ὅτι καὶ ὁ σατράπης αὐτοῖσι τετελευτήκει κατὰ πρόσταξιν Ἀλεξάνδρου· ὁ δὲ νεωστὶ κατεστηκὼς Τληπό-
9 λεμος οὔπω βέβαιον τὸ κράτος εἶχε. Καὶ δὶς ὢν καὶ τρὶς τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρῃ ἄλλοισι καὶ ἄλλοισι τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιφαινομένοισιν ἐς χεῖρας ἤεσαν· καὶ οὕτως οὐδέν τι ἐλινύσαντες μόλις καὶ χαλεπῶς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἀπεσώθησαν. Ἐνταῦθα θύει Νέαρχος Διὶ Σωτῆρι καὶ ἀγῶνα ποιέει γυμνικόν.

XXXVII. Ὡς δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ θεῖα ἐν κόσμῳ πεποίητο, οὕτω δὴ ἀνήγοντο. Παραπλώσαντες δὲ νῆσον ἐρήμην τε καὶ τρηχέην ἐν ἄλλῃ νήσῳ ὁρμίζονται, μεγάλῃ ταύτῃ καὶ οἰκεομένῃ, πλώσαντες σταδίους τριηκοσίους, ἔνθενπερ ὡρμήθη-
2 σαν. Καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐρήμη νῆσος Ὄργανα ἐκαλέετο, ἐς ἣν δὲ ὡρμήθησαν Ὀάρακτα· ἄμπελοί τε ἐν αὐτῇ ἐπεφύκεσαν καὶ φοίνικες, καὶ σιτοφόρος· τὸ δὲ μῆκος [ἦν] τῆς νήσου, στάδιοι ὀκτακόσιοι. Καὶ ὁ ὕπαρχος τῆς νήσου Μαζήνης συνέπλωεν αὐτοῖσι μέχρι Σούσων, ἐθελοντὴς ἡγεμὼν τοῦ
3 πλόου. Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ νήσῳ ἔλεγον καὶ τοῦ πρώτως δυναστεύσαντος τῆς χώρης ταύτης δείκνυσθαι τὸν τάφον· οὔνομα δὲ αὐτῷ Ἐρύθρην εἶναι, ἀπ᾽ ὅτου καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίην τῇ θαλάσσῃ

work, but the easy task which leads to ready fame was taken away and put into another's hands." Alexander checked his speaking further and thanked him warmly to boot; and so he sent him back again, giving him a force as escort, but a small one, as he was going through friendly territory. Yet his journey to the sea was not untroubled; the natives of the country round about were in possession of the strong places of Carmania, since their satrap had been put to death by Alexander's orders, and his successor recently appointed, Tlepolemus, had not established his authority. Twice then or even thrice on the one day the party came into conflict with different bodies of natives who kept coming up, and thus without losing any time they only just managed to get safe to the sea-coast. Then Nearchus sacrificed to Zeus the Saviour and held an athletic meeting.

XXXVII.[1] When therefore Nearchus had thus duly performed all his religious duties, they weighed anchor. Coasting along a rough and desert island, they anchored off another island, a large one, and inhabited; this was after a voyage of three hundred stades from their point of departure. The desert island was called Organa, and that off which they moored Oaracta. Vines grew on it and date-palms; and it produced corn; the length of the island was eight hundred stades. The governor of the island, Mazenes, sailed with them as far as Susa as a volunteer pilot. They said that in this island the tomb of the first chief of this territory was shown; his name

[1] XXXVII. From here onwards the *Indica* becomes mere guide-book, and the syntax is looser, while the style seems hurried.

4 ταύτῃ εἶναι, Ἐρυθρὴν καλέεσθαι. Ἐνθένδε ἐκ
τῆς νήσου ἄραντες ἔπλωον· καὶ τῆς νήσου αὐτῆς
παραπλώσαντες ὅσον διηκοσίους σταδίους, ὁρμί-
ζονται ἐν αὐτῇ αὖθις, καὶ κατορῶσιν ἄλλην νῆσον,
ἀπέχουσαν τῆς μεγάλης ταύτης τεσσαράκοντα
μάλιστα σταδίους· Ποσειδῶνος ἱρὴ ἐλέγετο εἶναι,
5 καὶ ἄβατος. Ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἕω ἀνήγοντο, καὶ κατα-
λαμβάνει αὐτοὺς ἀνάπωτις οὕτω τι καρτερή,
ὥστε τρεῖς τῶν νεῶν ἐποκείλασαι ἐν τῷ ξηρῷ
ἐσχέθησαν· αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι χαλεπῶς διεκπλώουσαι
6 τὰς ῥηχίας ἐς τὰ βάθεα διεσώθησαν· αἱ δὲ
ἐποκείλασαι τῆς πλημμυρίδος ἐπιγενομένης αὖθις
ἐξέπλωσάν τε καὶ δευτεραῖαι κατήγοντο ἵναπερ
7 ὁ πᾶς στόλος. Ὁρμίζονται δὲ ἐς νῆσον ἄλλην,
διέχουσαν τῆς ἠπείρου ὅσον τριηκοσίους στα-
8 δίους, πλώσαντες τετρακοσίους. Ἐντεῦθεν ὑπὸ
τὴν ἕω ἔπλωον, νῆσον ἐρήμην ἐν ἀριστερᾷ παρα-
μείβοντες· οὔνομα δὲ τῇ νήσῳ Πύλωρα· καὶ
ὁρμίζονται πρὸς Σισιδώνῃ,[1] πολιχνίῳ σμικρῷ καὶ
πάντων ἀπόρῳ, ὅτι μὴ ὕδατος καὶ ἰχθύων·
ἰχθυοφάγοι γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι ὑπ᾽ ἀναγκαίης ἦσαν,
9 ὅτι πονηρὴν γῆν νέμονται. Ἐνθένδε ὑδρευσάμενοι
καταίρουσιν ἐς Ταρσίην ἄκρην ἀνατείνουσαν ἐς
τὸ πέλαγος, πλώσαντες σταδίους τριηκοσίους.
10 Ἔνθεν ἐς Καταίην, νῆσον ἐρήμην, ἀλιτενέα·
αὕτη ἱρὴ Ἑρμέω καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἐλέγετο· στάδιοι
11 τοῦ πλόου τριηκόσιοι· ἐς ταύτην ὅσα ἔτη
ἀφίεται ἐκ τῶν περιοίκων πρόβατα καὶ αἶγες,
ἱρὰ τῷ Ἑρμῇ καὶ τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ· καὶ ταῦτα
ἀπηγριωμένα ἦν ὁρᾶν ὑπὸ χρόνου τε καὶ ἐρημίης.

[1] Δωδώνῃ B (Parisinus). A place-name Duwân survives in the vicinity.

was Erythres, and hence came the name of the sea. Thence they weighed anchor and sailed onward, and when they had coasted about two hundred stades along this same island they anchored off it once more and sighted another island, about forty stades from this large one. It was said to be sacred to Poseidon, and not to be trod by foot of man. About dawn they put out to sea, and were met by so violent an ebb that three of the ships ran ashore and were held hard and fast on dry land, and the rest only just sailed through the surf and got safe into deep water. The ships, however, which ran aground were floated off when next flood came, and arrived next day where the main fleet was. They moored at another island, about three hundred stades from the mainland, after a voyage of four hundred stades. Thence they sailed about dawn, and passed on their port side a desert island; its name was Pylora. Then they anchored at Sisidona, a desolate little township, with nothing but water and fish; for the natives here were fish-eaters whether they would or not, because they dwelt in so desolate a territory. Thence they got water, and reached Cape Tarsias, which runs right out into the sea, after a voyage of three hundred stades. Thence they made for Cataea, a desert island, and low-lying; this was said to be sacred to Hermes and Aphrodite; the voyage was of three hundred stades. Every year the natives round about send sheep and goats as sacred to Hermes and Aphrodite, and one could see them, now quite wild from lapse of time and want of handling.

XXXVIII. Μέχρι τοῦδε Καρμανίη· τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦδε Πέρσαι ἔχουσι· μῆκος τοῦ πλόου παρὰ τὴν Καρμανίην χώρην στάδιοι τρισχίλιοι καὶ ἑπτακόσιοι· ζώουσι δὲ κατάπερ Πέρσαι, ὅτι καὶ ὅμοροί εἰσι Πέρσῃσι· καὶ τὰ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον
2 ὡσαύτως κοσμέονται. Ἐνθένδε ἄραντες ἐκ τῆς νήσου τῆς ἱρῆς παρὰ τὴν Περσίδα ἤδη ἔπλωον· καὶ κατάγονται ἐς Ἴλαν χῶρον, ἵνα λιμὴν πρὸς νήσου σμικρῆς καὶ ἐρήμης γίνεται· οὔνομα τῇ νήσῳ Κέκανδρος· ὁ δὲ πλόος στάδια τετρακόσια.
3 Ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἕω ἐς ἄλλην νῆσον πλώσαντες ὁρμίζονται οἰκεομένην· ἵνα καὶ μαργαρίτην θηρᾶσθαι λέγει Νέαρχος, κατάπερ ἐν τῇ Ἰνδῶν θαλάσσῃ. Ταύτης τῆς νήσου τὴν ἄκρην παραπλώσαντες σταδίους ὡς τεσσαράκοντα, ἐνταῦθα
4 ὡρμίσθησαν· ἐνθένδε πρὸς ὄρεϊ ὁρμίζονται ὑψηλῷ (Ὦχος οὔνομα τῷ ὄρεϊ) ἐν λιμένι εὐόρμῳ·
5 καὶ ἁλιέες αὐτοῦ ᾤκεον. Καὶ ἔνθεν πλώσαντες σταδίους τετρακοσίους τε καὶ πεντήκοντα, ὁρμίζονται ἐν Ἀποστάνοισι· καὶ πλοῖα πολλὰ αὐτόθι ὥρμεε, κώμη τε ἐπῆν ἀπέχουσα ἀπὸ θαλάσσης
6 σταδίους ἑξήκοντα. Νυκτὸς δὲ ἐπάραντες ἔνθεν ἐσπλώουσιν ἐς κόλπον συνοικεόμενον πολλῇσι κώμῃσι· στάδιοι τοῦ πλόου τετρακόσιοι· ὁρμίζονται δὲ πρὸς ὑπωρείην· ταύτῃ φοίνικές τε πολλοὶ ἐπεφύκεσαν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἀκρόδρυα ἐν
7 τῇ Ἑλλάδι γῇ φύεται. Ἔνθεν ἄραντες ἐς Γώγανα παραπλώουσι σταδίους μάλιστα ἐς ἑξακοσίους, ἐς χώρην οἰκεομένην· ὁρμίζονται δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ χειμάρρου, οὔνομα δὲ Ἀρεών, ἐν τῇσιν ἐκβολῇσιν· ἐνταῦθα χαλεπῶς ὁρμίζονται· στεινὸς γὰρ ἦν ὁ ἔσπλους κατὰ τὸ

XXXVIII. So far extends Carmania; beyond this is Persia. The length of the voyage along the Carmanian coast is three thousand seven hundred stades. The natives' way of life is like that of the Persians, to whom they are also neighbours; and they wear the same military equipment. The Greeks moved on thence, from the sacred island, and were already coasting along Persian territory; they put in at a place called Ilas, where a harbour is formed by a small desert island, which is called Cecandrus; the voyage thither is four hundred stades. At daybreak they sailed to another island, an inhabited one, and anchored there; here, according to Nearchus, there is pearl fishing, as in the Indian Ocean. They sailed along the point of this island, a distance of forty stades, and there moored. Next they anchored off a tall hill, called Ochus, in a safe harbour; fishermen dwelt on its banks. Thence they sailed four hundred and fifty stades, and anchored off Apostana; many boats were anchored there, and there was a village near, about sixty stades from the sea. They weighed anchor at night and sailed thence to a gulf, with a good many villages settled round about. This was a voyage of four hundred stades; and they anchored below a mountain, on which grew many date-palms and other fruit trees such as flourish in Greece. Thence they unmoored and sailed along to Gogana, about six hundred stades, to an inhabited district; and they anchored off the torrent, called Areon, just at its outlet. The anchorage there was uncomfortable; the entrance was narrow, just at the mouth, since the ebb tide

στόμα, ὅτι βραχέα τὰ κύκλῳ αὐτοῦ ἡ ἀνάπωτις
8 ἐποίεε. Καὶ ἔνθεν αὖ ἐν στόματι ἄλλου ποταμοῦ
ὁρμίζονται, διεκπλώσαντες σταδίους ἐς ὀκτακο-
σίους· Σιτακὸς οὔνομα τῷ ποταμῷ ἦν· οὐδὲ ἐν
τούτῳ εὐμαρέως ὁρμίζονται· καὶ ὁ πλόος ἅπας
οὗτος ὁ παρὰ τὴν Περσίδα βραχέα τε ἦσαν καὶ
9 ῥηχίαι καὶ τενάγεα. Ἐνταῦθα σῖτον καταλαμ-
βάνουσι πολλὸν ξυγκεκομισμένον κατὰ πρόστα-
ξιν βασιλέος, ὡς σφίσιν εἶναι ἐπισιτίσασθαι·
ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τὰς πάσας μίαν καὶ
εἴκοσι, καὶ τὰς νέας ἀνειρυσάμενοι ὅσαι μὲν
πεπονήκεσαν, ἐπεσκεύαζον· τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἐθερά-
πευον.

XXXIX. Ἐνθένδε ὁρμηθέντες εἰς Ἱέρατιν πόλιν
ἀπίκοντο, ἐς χῶρον οἰκεόμενον· ἑπτακόσιοι καὶ
πεντήκοντα στάδιοι ὁ πλόος· ὡρμίσθησαν δὲ ἐν
διώρυχι ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐμβεβλημένῃ ἐς
2 θάλασσαν, ᾗ οὔνομα ἦν Ἡράτεμις. Ἅμα δὲ
ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι παραπλώουσιν ἐς ποταμὸν χει-
μάρρουν, οὔνομα Πάδαγρον, ὁ δὲ χῶρος χερρόνησος
ἅπας· καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ κῆποί τε πολλοὶ καὶ ἀκρόδρυα
παντοῖα ἐφύετο· οὔνομα τῷ χώρῳ Μεσαμβρίη.
3 Ἐκ Μεσαμβρίης δὲ ὁρμηθέντες, καὶ διεκπλώ-
σαντες σταδίους μάλιστα ἐς διηκοσίους, ἐς
Ταόκην ὁρμίζονται ἐπὶ ποταμῷ Γράνιδι· καὶ ἀπὸ
τούτου ἐς τὸ ἄνω Περσέων βασίλεια ἦν, ἀπέχοντα
τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῶν ἐκβολέων σταδίους ἐς διηκο-
4 σίους. Κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν παράπλουν λέγει Νέαρ-
χος ὀφθῆναι κῆτος ἐκβεβλημένον εἰς τὴν ἠϊόνα·
καὶ τοῦτο προσπλώσαντάς τινας τῶν ναυτέων
ἐκμετρῆσαι καὶ φάναι εἶναι πήχεων ἐνενήκοντα·
5 δέρμα δὲ αὐτῷ εἶναι φολιδωτὸν, οὕτω τε ἐς βάθος

caused shallows in all the neighbourhood of the outlet. After this they anchored again at another river-mouth, after a voyage of about eight hundred stades. This river was called Sitacus. Even here, however, they did not find a pleasant anchorage; in fact this whole voyage along Persia was shallows, surf, and lagoons. There they found a great supply of corn brought together there by the King's orders, for their provisioning; there they abode twenty-one days in all; they drew up the ships, and repaired those that had suffered, and the others too they put in order.

XXXIX. Thence they started and reached the city of Hieratis, a populous place. The voyage was of seven hundred and fifty stades; and they anchored in a channel running from the river to the sea and called Heratemis. At sunrise they sailed along the coast to a torrent called Padagrus; the entire district forms a peninsula. There were many gardens, and all sorts of fruit trees were growing there; the name of the place was Mesambria. From Mesambria they sailed and after a voyage of about two hundred stades anchored at Taoce on the river Granis. Inland from here was a Persian royal residence, about two hundred stades from the mouth of the river. On this voyage, Nearchus says, a great whale was seen, stranded on the shore, and some of the sailors sailed past it and measured it, and said it was of ninety cubits' length. Its hide was scaly, and so

ἧκον, ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ πῆχυν ἐπέχειν, ὄστρεά τε καὶ
λοπάδας καὶ φυκία πολλὰ ἔχειν ἐπιπεφυκότα·
καὶ δελφῖνας λέγει ὅτι καθορᾶν ἦν πολλοὺς ἀμφὶ
τῷ κήτεϊ, καὶ τοὺς δελφῖνας τῶν ἐν τῇ εἴσω
6 θαλάσσῃ μέζονας. Ἔνθεν δὲ ὁρμηθέντες κατά-
γονται ἐς Ῥώγωνιν ποταμὸν χειμάρρουν ἐν λιμένι
εὐόρμῳ· μῆκος τοῦ παράπλου στάδιοι διηκόσιοι.
7 Ἐνθένδε τετρακοσίους σταδίους διεκπλώσαντες
αὐλίζονται ἐν ποταμῷ χειμάρρῳ· Βρίζανα τῷ
ποταμῷ οὔνομα· ἐνταῦθα χαλεπῶς ὡρμίσαντο,
ὅτι ῥηχίη ἦν καὶ βραχέα, καὶ χοιράδες ἐκ τοῦ
8 πόντου ἀνεῖχον· ἀλλ' ὅτε ἡ πλήμμυρα ἐπῄει,
τότε ὡρμίσαντο· ὑπονοστήσαντος δὲ τοῦ ὕδατος,
ἐπὶ ξηρῷ ὑπελείφθησαν αἱ νέες· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ πλημ-
μυρὶς ἐν τάξει ἀμείβουσα ἐπῆλθε, τότε δὴ
9 ἐκπλώσαντες ὁρμίζονται ἐπὶ ποταμῷ· οὔνομα δὲ
τῷ ποταμῷ Ὀροάτις, μέγιστος τῶν ποταμῶν, ὡς
λέγει Νέαρχος, ὅσοι ἐν τῷ παράπλῳ τῷδε ἐμβάλ-
λουσιν ἐς τὸν ἔξω πόντον.

XL. Μέχρι τοῦδε Πέρσαι οἰκέουσι, τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ
τούτων Σούσιοι. Σουσίων δὲ ἄλλο γένος αὐτό-
νομον κατύπερθε προσοικέει· Οὔξιοι καλέονται·
ὑπὲρ ὅτων λέλεκταί μοι ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ ξυγγαφῇ,
ὅτι λῃσταί εἰσι. Μῆκος τοῦ παράπλου τῆς
Περσίδος χώρης, στάδιοι τετρακόσιοι καὶ τετρα-
2 κισχίλιοι. Τὴν δὲ Περσίδα γῆν τριχῇ νενεμῆσ-
θαι τῶν ὡρέων λόγος κατέχει. Τὸ μὲν αὐτῆς
πρὸς τῇ Ἐρυθρῇ θαλάσσῃ οἰκεόμενον ἀμμῶδές τε
3 εἶναι καὶ ἄκαρπον ὑπὸ καύματος· τὸ δὲ ἐπιτη-
δέως πρὸς ἄρκτον τε καὶ Βορέην ἄνεμον ἰόντων
καλῶς κεκρᾶσθαι τῶν ὡρέων· καὶ τὴν χώρην
ποιώδεά τε εἶναι, καὶ λειμῶνας ὑδρηλοὺς καὶ

thick that it was a cubit in depth; and it had many oysters, limpets, and seaweeds growing on it. Nearchus also says that they could see many dolphins round the whale, and these larger than the Mediterranean dolphins. Going on hence, they put in at the torrent Rogonis, in a good harbour; the length of this voyage was two hundred stades. Thence again they sailed four hundred stades and bivouacked on the side of a torrent; its name was Brizana. Then they found difficult anchorage; there were surf, and shallows, and reefs showing above the sea. But when the flood tide came in, they were able to anchor; when, however, the tide retired again, the ships were left high and dry. Then when the flood duly returned, they sailed out, and anchored in a river called Oroatis, greatest, according to Nearchus, of all the rivers which on this coast run into the Ocean.

XL. The Persians dwell up to this point and the Susians next to them. Above the Susians lives another independent tribe; these are called Uxians, and in my earlier history I have described them as brigands. The length of the voyage along the Persian coast was four thousand four hundred stades. The Persian land is divided, they say, into three climatic zones. The part which lies by the Red Sea [1] is sandy and sterile, owing to the heat. Then the next zone, northward, has a temperate climate; the country is grassy and has lush meadows and many

[1] cf. p. 403, note.

ἄμπελον πολλὴν φέρειν, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι καρποί,
4 πλὴν ἐλαίης· παραδείσοισί τε παντοίοισι τεθηλέναι, καὶ ποταμοῖσι καθαροῖσι διαρρέεσθαι,
καὶ λίμνῃσι, καὶ ὄρνισιν ὁκόσοισιν ἀμφὶ ποταμούς τε καὶ λίμνας ἐστὶ τὰ ἤθεα, ἵπποισί τε
ἀγαθὴν εἶναι, καὶ τοῖσιν ἄλλοισιν ὑποζυγίοισι
νέμεσθαι, καὶ ὑλώδεά τε πολλαχῇ καὶ πολύ-
5 θηρον· τὴν δὲ πρόσω ἔτι ἐπ' ἄρκτον ἰόντων
χειμερίην τε καὶ νιφετώδεα· * * ὥστε πρέσβεάς
τινας ἐκ τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου λέγει Νέαρχος
κάρτα ὀλίγην ὁδὸν διελθόντας ἐντυχεῖν κατ'
ὁδὸν ἰόντι τῆς Περσίδος καὶ θῶμα γενέσθαι
Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, καὶ εἰπεῖν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῆς ὁδοῦ τὴν
6 βραχύτητα. Σουσίοις δὲ πρόσοικοι ὅτι εἰσὶν οἱ
Οὔξιοι, λέλεκταί μοι· κατάπερ Μάρδοι μὲν
Πέρσῃσι προσεχέες οἰκέουσι, λῃσταὶ καὶ οὗτοι,
7 Κοσσαῖοι δὲ Μήδοισι. Καὶ ταῦτα πάντα τὰ
ἔθνεα ἡμέρωσεν Ἀλέξανδρος, χειμῶνος ὥρῃ ἐπιπεσὼν αὐτοῖσιν, ὅτε ἄβατον σφῶν τὴν χώρην
8 ἦγον· καὶ πόλιας ἐπέκτισε τοῦ μὴ νομάδας ἔτι
εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἀροτῆρας καὶ γῆς ἐργάτας, καὶ ἔχειν
ὑπὲρ ὅτων δειμαίνοντες μὴ κακὰ ἀλλήλους ἐργάσωνται. Ἐνθένδε τὴν Σουσίων γῆν παρήμειβεν
9 ὁ στρατός. Καὶ ταῦτα οὐκέτι ὡσαύτως ἀτρεκέως
λέγει Νέαρχος ὅτι ἔστιν οἱ ἐκφράσαι, πλήν γε δὴ
10 τοὺς ὅρμους τε καὶ τὸ μῆκος τοῦ πλόου· τὴν
χώρην γὰρ τεναγώδεά τε εἶναι τὴν πολλὴν καὶ
ῥηχίῃσιν ἐπὶ μέγα ἐς τὸν πόντον ἐπέχουσαν, καὶ
ταύτην σφαλερὴν ἐγκατορμίζεσθαι· πελαγίοισιν
11 ὦν σφίσι τὴν κομιδὴν τὸ πολλὸν γενέσθαι· ὁρμηθῆναι μὲν δὴ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῶν ἐκβολέων, ἵναπερ
ηὐλίσθησαν, ἐπὶ τοῖσιν οὔροισι τῆς Περσίδος·

vines and all other fruits except the olive; it is rich with all sorts of gardens, has pure rivers running through, and also lakes, and is good both for all sorts of birds which frequent rivers and lakes, and for horses, and also pastures the other domestic animals, and is well wooded, and has plenty of game. The next zone, still going northward, is wintry and snowy. Nearchus tells us of some envoys from the Black Sea who after quite a short journey met Alexander traversing Persia and caused him no small astonishment; and they explained to Alexander how short the journey was. I have explained that the Uxians are neighbours to the Susians, as the Mardians—they also are brigands—live next the Persians, and the Cossaeans come next to the Medes. All these tribes Alexander reduced, coming upon them in winter-time, when they thought their country unapproachable. He also founded cities so that they should no longer be nomads but cultivators, and tillers of the ground, and so having a stake in the country might be deterred from raiding one another. From here the convoy passed along the Susian territory. About this part of the voyage Nearchus says he cannot speak with accurate detail, except about the roadsteads and the length of the voyage. This is because the country is for the most part marshy and runs out well into the sea, with breakers, and is very hard to get good anchorage in. So their voyage was mostly in the open sea. They sailed out, therefore, from the mouths of the river, where they had encamped, just on the Persian border, taking on

ὕδωρ δὲ ἐμβάλλεσθαι πέντε ἡμερέων. οὐκ ἔφασκον γὰρ εἶναι ὕδωρ οἱ κατηγεμόνες τοῦ πλόου.

XLI. Σταδίους δὲ πεντακοσίους κομισθέντες ὁρμίζονται ἐπὶ στόματι λίμνης ἰχθυώδεος, ᾗ οὔνομα Καταδερβις· καὶ νησὶς ἐπῆν τῷ στόματι·
2 Μαργάστανα τῇ νησῖδι οὔνομα. Ἔνθένδε δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω ἐκπλώσαντες κατὰ βραχέα ἐκομίζοντο ἐπὶ μιῆς νεός· πασσάλοισι δὲ ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν πεπηγόσιν ἀπεδηλοῦτο τὰ βραχέα, κατάπερ ἐν τῷ μεσσηγὺς Λευκάδος τε νήσου ἰσθμῷ καὶ Ἀκαρνανίης ἀποδέδεικται σημήϊα τοῖσι ναυτιλλομένοισι τοῦ μὴ ἐποκέλλειν ἐν τοῖσι
3 βραχέσι τὰς νέας· ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Λευκάδα, ψαμμώδεα ἐόντα, καὶ τοῖσιν ἐποκείλασι ταχέην τὴν ὑπονόστησιν ἐνδιδοῖ· κεῖθι δὲ πηλός ἐστιν ἐπ' ἑκάτερα τοῦ πλεομένου βαθὺς καὶ ἰλυώδης, ὥστε οὐδεμιῇ μηχανῇ ἐποκείλασιν ἦν ἀποσω-
4 θῆναι. Οἵ τε γὰρ κοντοὶ κατὰ τοῦ πηλοῦ δύνοντες αὐτοὶ οὐδέν τι ἐπωφέλεον, ἀνθρώπῳ τε ἐκβῆναι τοῦ ἀπῶσαι τὰς νέας ἐς τὰ πλεόμενα ἄπορον ἐγίνετο· ἔδυνον γὰρ κατὰ τοῦ πηλοῦ
5 ἔστε ἐπὶ τὰ στήθεα. Οὕτω δὴ χαλεπῶς διεκπλώσαντες ἐς σταδίους ἑξακοσίους κατὰ νέα ἕκαστοι ὁρμισθέντες, ἐνταῦθα δείπνου ἐμνήσ-
6 θησαν· τὴν νύκτα δὲ ἤδη κατὰ βάθεα ἔπλωον, καὶ τὴν ἐπεξῆς ἡμέρην ἔστε ἐπὶ Βουλυτόν· καὶ ἦλθον σταδίους ἐννακοσίους· καὶ κατωρμίσθησαν ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ Εὐφράτου πρὸς κώμῃ τινὶ τῆς Βαβυλωνίης χώρης· οὔνομα δὲ αὐτῇ Διρί-
7 δωτις· ἵνα λιβανωτόν τε ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμπορίης γῆς οἱ ἔμποροι ἀγινέουσι, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα θυμιή-
8 ματα ἡ Ἀράβων γῆ φέρει. Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ

board water for five days; for the pilots said that they would meet no fresh water.

XLI. Then after traversing five hundred stades they anchored in the mouth of a lake, full of fish, called Cataderbis: at the mouth was a small island called Margastana. Thence about daybreak they sailed out and passed the shallows in columns of single ships; the shallows were marked on either side by poles driven down, just as in the strait between the island Leucas and Acarnania signposts have been set up for navigators so that the ships should not ground on the shallows. However, the shallows round Leucas are sandy and render it easy for those aground to get off; but here it is mud on both sides of the channel, both deep and tenacious; once aground there, they could not possibly get off. For the punt-poles sank into the mud and gave them no help, and it proved impossible for the crews to disembark and push the ships off, for they sank up to their breasts in the ooze. Thus then they sailed out with great difficulty and traversed six hundred stades, each crew abiding by its ship; and then they took thought for supper. During the night, however, they were fortunate in reaching deep sailing water and next day also, up to the evening; they sailed nine hundred stades, and anchored in the mouth of the Euphrates near a village of Babylonia, called Diridotis; here the merchants gather together frankincense from the neighbouring country and all other sweet-smelling spices which Arabia produces.

στόματος τοῦ Εὐφράτου ἔστε ἐς Βαβυλῶνα πλόον λέγει Νέαρχος σταδίους εἶναι ἐς τρισχιλίους καὶ τριηκοσίους.

XLII. Ἐνταῦθα ἀγγέλλεται Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπὶ Σούσων στέλλεσθαι· ἔνθεν καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ ὀπίσω ἔπλωον, ὡς κατὰ τὸν Πασιτίγριν ποταμὸν ἀνα-
2 πλώσαντες συμμῖξαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. Ἔπλωον δὴ τὸ ἔμπαλιν ἐν ἀριστερῇ τὴν γῆν τὴν Σουσίδα ἔχοντες· καὶ παραπλώουσι λίμνην, ἐς ἣν ὁ Τίγρης
3 ἐσβάλλει ποταμός· ὃς ῥέων ἐξ Ἀρμενίων παρὰ πόλιν Νίνον, πάλαι ποτὲ μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα, τὴν μέσην ἑωυτοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ, ἣν Μεσοποταμίην ἐπὶ τῷδε κληΐζεσθαι, ποιέει·
4 ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς λίμνης ἐς αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμὸν ἀνάπλους στάδιοι ἑξακόσιοι, ἵνα καὶ κώμη τῆς Σουσίδος, ἣν καλέουσιν Ἄγινιν· αὕτη δὲ ἀπέχει Σούσων σταδίους ἐς πεντακοσίους· μῆκος τοῦ παράπλου τῆς Σουσίων γῆς ἔστε ἐπὶ στόμα τοῦ Πασιτίγριδος
5 ποταμοῦ στάδιοι δισχίλιοι. Ἐνθένδε κατὰ τὸν Πασιτίγριν ἄνω ἀνέπλωον διὰ χώρης οἰκεομένης καὶ εὐδαίμονος. Ἀναπλώσαντες δὲ σταδίους ἐς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν αὐτοῦ ὁρμίζονται, προσμένοντες οὕστινας ἐστάλκει Νέαρχος σκεψομένους
6 ἵνα ὁ βασιλεὺς εἴη. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἔθυε θεοῖσι τοῖσι σωτῆρσι, καὶ ἀγῶνα ἐποίεε, καὶ ἡ στρατιὴ ἡ
7 ναυτικὴ πᾶσα ἐν εὐθυμίῃσιν ἦν. Ὡς δὲ προσάγων ἤδη Ἀλέξανδρος ἠγγέλλετο, ἔπλωον ἤδη αὖθις ἐς τὸ ἄνω κατὰ τὸν ποταμόν· καὶ πρὸς τῇ σχεδίῃ ὁρμίζονται, ἐπ' ᾗ τὸ στράτευμα δια-
8 βιβάσειν ἔμελλεν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐς Σοῦσα. Ἐνταῦθα ἀνεμίχθη ὁ στρατός, καὶ θυσίαι πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐθύοντο ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν τε καὶ τῶν

From the mouth of the Euphrates to Babylon Nearchus says it is a voyage of three thousand three hundred stades.

XLII. There they heard that Alexander was departing towards Susa. They therefore sailed back, in order to sail up the Pasitigris and meet Alexander. So they sailed back, with the land of Susia on their left, and they went along the lake into which the Tigris runs. It flows from Armenia past the city of Ninus, which once was a great and rich city, and so makes the region between itself and the Euphrates; that is why it is called "Between the Rivers." The voyage from the lake up to the river itself is six hundred stades, and there is a village of Susia called Aginis; this village is five hundred stades from Susa. The length of the voyage along Susian territory to the mouth of the Pasitigris is two thousand stades. From there they sailed up the Pasitigris through inhabited and prosperous country. When they had sailed up about a hundred and fifty stades they moored there, waiting for the scouts whom Nearchus had sent to see where the King was. He himself sacrificed to the Saviour gods, and held an athletic meeting, and the whole naval force made merry. And when news was brought that Alexander was now approaching they sailed again up the river; and they moored near the pontoon bridge on which Alexander intended to take his army over to Susa. There the two forces met; Alexander offered sacrifices for his ships and men,

ἀνθρώπων τῇ σωτηρίῃ, καὶ ἀγῶνες ἐποιέοντο· καὶ Νέαρχος ὅκοι παραφανείη τῆς στρατιῆς,
9 ἄνθεσί τε καὶ ταινίῃσιν ἐβάλλετο· ἔνθα καὶ χρυσέῳ στεφάνῳ στεφανοῦνται ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου Νέαρχός τε καὶ Λεοννάτος, Νέαρχος μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τῇ σωτηρίῃ, Λεοννάτος δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ, ἣν Ὠρείτας τε ἐνίκησε καὶ τοὺς Ὠρείτῃσι
10 προσοικέοντας βαρβάρους. Οὕτω μὲν ἀπεσώθη Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐκ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ τῶν ἐκβολέων ὁρμηθεὶς ὁ στρατός.

XLIII. Τὰ δὲ ἐν δεξιῇ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς θαλάσσης ὑπὲρ τὴν Βαβυλωνίην Ἀραβίη ἡ πολλή ἐστι, καὶ ταυτης τὰ μὲν κατήκει ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν κατὰ Φοινίκην τε καὶ τὴν Παλαιστίνην Συρίην· πρὸς δυομένου δὲ ἡλίου ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν εἴσω θάλασσαν Αἰγύπτιοι τῇ Ἀραβίῃ ὁμορέουσι.
2 Κατὰ δὲ Αἴγυπτον ἐσέχων ἐκ τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης κόλπος δῆλον ποιέει ὅτι ἕνεκά γε τοῦ σύρροον εἶναι τὴν ἔξω θάλασσαν περίπλους ἂν ἦν ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἐς τὸν κόλπον τοῦτον ἐσέχοντα
3 ὡς ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὔ τις παρέπλωσε ταύτῃ οὐδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπὸ καύματος καὶ ἐρημίης, εἰ μή τινές γε πελάγιοι κομιζόμενοι.
4 Ἀλλὰ οἱ ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου γὰρ ἐς Σοῦσα ἀποσωθέντες τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς Καμβύσεω καὶ οἱ παρὰ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λάγου παρὰ Σέλευκον τὸν Νικάτορα σταλέντες ἐς Βαβυλῶνα διὰ τῆς Ἀραβίης χώρης
5 ἰσθμόν τινα διαπορευθέντες ἐν ἡμέρῃσιν ὀκτὼ τῇσι πάσῃσιν ἄνυδρον καὶ ἐρήμην χώρην ἐπῆλθον ἐπὶ καμήλων σπουδῇ ἐλαύνοντες, ὕδωρ τέ σφιν ἐπὶ τῶν καμήλων φέροντες, καὶ νυκτοπορέοντες· τὰς γὰρ ἡμέρας ὑπαίθριοι ἀνέχεσθαι διὰ καῦμα

come safe back again, and games were held; and wherever Nearchus appeared in the camp, the troops pelted him with ribbons and flowers. There also Nearchus and Leonnatus were crowned by Alexander with a golden crown; Nearchus for the safe convoying of the ships, Leonnatus for the victory he had achieved among the Oreitans and the natives who dwelt next to them. Thus then Alexander received safe back his navy, which had started from the mouths of the Indus.

XLIII. On the right side of the Red Sea beyond Babylonia is the chief part of Arabia, and of this a part comes down to the sea of Phoenicia and Palestinian Syria, but on the west, up to the Mediterranean, the Egyptians are upon the Arabian borders. Along Egypt a gulf[1] running in from the Great Sea makes it clear that by reason of the gulf's joining with the High Seas one might sail round from Babylon into this gulf which runs into Egypt. Yet, in point of fact, no one has yet sailed round this way by reason of the heat and the desert nature of the coasts, only a few people who sailed over the open sea. But those of the army of Cambyses who came safe from Egypt to Susa and those troops who were sent from Ptolemy Lagus to Seleucus Nicator at Babylon through Arabia crossed an isthmus in a period of eight days and passed through a waterless and desert country, riding fast upon camels, carrying water for themselves on their camels, and travelling by night; for during the day they could not come

[1] The Red Sea. But Arrian is quite confused in this passage, and the text may also have suffered; here and sections 6 and 8 inf. cf. p. 403, note.

6 ἀδύνατοι ἦσαν. Τοσούτου δεῖ τά γε ἐπέκεινα
ταύτης τῆς χώρης, ἥντινα ἰσθμὸν ἀποφαίνομεν
ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου τοῦ Ἀραβίου κατήκοντα ἐς τὴν
Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν, οἰκεόμενα εἶναι, ὁκότε τὰ
πρὸς ἄρκτον μᾶλλον αὐτῶν ἀνέχοντα ἔρημά τέ
7 ἐστι καὶ ψαμμώδεα. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ
Ἀραβίου κόλπου τοῦ κατ' Αἴγυπτον ὁρμηθέντες
ἄνθρωποι, ἐκπεριπλώσαντες τὴν πολλὴν Ἀραβίην
ἐλθεῖν ἐς τὴν κατὰ Σοῦσά τε καὶ Πέρσας θάλασ-
σαν, ἐς τοσόνδε ἄρα παραπλώσαντες τῆς Ἀραβίης,
ἐς ὅσον σφίσι τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπήρκεσε τὸ ἐμβληθὲν ἐς
8 τὰς νέας, ἔπειτα ὀπίσω ἀπενόστησαν. Ἐκ Βαβυ-
λῶνός τε οὕστινας ἔστειλεν Ἀλέξανδρος, ὡς ἐπὶ
μήκιστον πλώοντας ἐν δεξιῇ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς θα-
λάσσης γνῶναι τοὺς ταύτῃ χώρους, οὗτοι νήσους
μέν τινας κατεσκέψαντο ἐν τῷ παράπλῳ κειμένας,
καί που καὶ τῆς ἠπείρου τῆς Ἀραβίης προσέσχον·
9 τὴν δὲ ἄκρην, ἥντινα καταντικρὺ τῆς Καρμανίης
ἀνέχουσαν λέγει φανῆναι σφίσι Νέαρχος, οὐκ
ἔστιν ὅστις ὑπερβαλὼν ἐπικάμψαι ἐς τὸ ἐπὶ
10 θάτερα δυνατὸς ἐγένετο. Δοκέω δὲ ὡς εἴπερ
πλωτά τε ἦν καὶ βαδιστὰ ταύτῃ, ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου
ἂν τῆς πολυπραγμοσύνης ἐξελήλεγκτο πλωτὰ
11 τε καὶ βαδιστὰ ἐόντα. Ἄννων δὲ ὁ Λίβυς ἐκ
Καρχηδόνος ὁρμηθεὶς ὑπὲρ μὲν Ἡρακλείας στήλας
ἐξέπλωσεν ἔξω ἐς τὸν πόντον, ἐν ἀριστερῇ τὴν
Λιβύην γῆν ἔχων· καὶ ἔστε μὲν πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα
ἥλιον ὁ πλόος αὐτῷ ἐγένετο τὰς πάσας πέντε καὶ
12 τριήκοντα ἡμέρας· ὡς δὲ δὴ ἐς μεσημβρίην ἐξε-
τράπετο, πολλῇσιν ἀμηχανίῃσιν ἐνετύγχανεν
ὕδατός τε ἀπορίῃ καὶ καύματι ἐπιφλέγοντι καὶ
13 ῥύαξι πυρὸς ἐς τὸν πόντον ἐμβάλλουσιν. Ἀλλ'

out of shelter by reason of the heat. So far is the region on the other side of this stretch of land, which we have demonstrated to be an isthmus from the Arabian gulf[1] running into the Red Sea, from being inhabited, that its northern parts are quite desert and sandy. Yet from the Arabian gulf which runs along Egypt people have started, and have circumnavigated the greater part of Arabia hoping to reach the sea nearest to Susa and Persia, and thus have sailed so far round the Arabian coast as the amount of fresh water taken aboard their vessels have permitted, and then have returned home again. And those whom Alexander sent from Babylon, in order that, sailing as far as they could on the right of the Red Sea, they might reconnoitre the country on this side—these explorers sighted certain islands lying on their course, and very possibly put in at the mainland of Arabia. But the cape which Nearchus says his party sighted running out into the sea opposite Carmania no one has ever been able to round, and thus turn inwards towards the far side. I am inclined to think that had this been navigable, and had there been any passage, it would have been proved navigable, and a passage found, by the indefatigable energy of Alexander. Moreover, Hanno the Libyan started out from Carthage and passed the pillars of Heracles and sailed into the outer Ocean, with Libya on his port side, and he sailed on towards the east, five-and-thirty days all told. But when at last he turned southward, he fell in with every sort of difficulty, want of water, blazing heat, and fiery streams running into the sea. But

[1] Arabian Gulf: here and in section 7 inf. = The Red Sea.

ἡ Κυρήνη γὰρ τῆς Λιβύης ἐν τοῖσι ἐρημοτέροισιν πεπολισμένη ποιώδης τέ ἐστι καὶ μαλθακὴ καὶ εὔυδρος, καὶ ἄλσεα καὶ λειμῶνες καὶ καρπῶν παντοίων καὶ κτηνέων πάμφορος ἔστε ἐπὶ τοῦ σιλφίου τὰς ἐκφύσιας· ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸ σίλφιον τὰ ἄνω αὐτῆς ἔρημα καὶ ψαμμώδεα.

14 Οὗτός μοι ὁ λόγος ἀναγεγράφθω, φέρων καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Φιλίππου, τὸν Μακεδόνα.

Cyrene, lying in the more desert parts of Africa, is grassy and fertile and well-watered; it bears all sorts of fruits and animals, right up to the region where the silphium grows; beyond this silphium belt its upper parts are bare and sandy.

Here this my history shall cease, which, as well as my other, deals with Alexander of Macedon son of Philip.

INDEX TO ARRIAN,

ANABASIS AND INDICA

Note.—This is not a full index, and omits persons and places who are only mentioned in passing. References are to *Anabasis*, unless prefixed by IND. (= *Indica*). The *Indica* references in Arabic numerals are to chapter and section, thus, 18. 3.

INDEX TO PROPER NAMES

INDEX TO PROPER NAMES

[1] Native name of Hindu-Koosh Graucasim (Pliny, VI. 50), whence, probably the confusion.

[2] Κύρου πόλις. Greek formed compounds in the second stage only; a citizen would be Κυροπολίτης.

INDEX TO PROPER NAMES

---

[1] The traditional accent of this name, Λεοννάτος, used, but repented of, by Roos, who would have preferred Λεοννᾶτος or Λεόννατος, and retained by Chantraine (*Indica*), is puzzling, but so is the name itself. The origin and nature of the Macedonian language are obscured by Greek overlayings; O. Hoffmann (*Die Makedonen*) derives the name from λεώς, "people," and -όνατος, "beneficial": thus meaning "Benefactor." But there are difficulties in this derivation.

[2] Some read here 'Αλκίμαχον.

INDEX TO PROPER NAMES

INDEX TO PROPER NAMES

[1] The form Polyperchon can hardly be Greek; both forms are probably attempts to give some Greek semblance to a name not now recoverable. Unfortunately our knowledge of the Macedonian language or dialect is still rudimentary. See note 1, p. 442.

Printed in Great Britain by
Richard Clay (The Chaucer Press), Ltd.,
Bungay, Suffolk

THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY

VOLUMES ALREADY PUBLISHED

Latin Authors

Ammianus Marcellinus. Translated by J. C. Rolfe. 3 Vols.

Apuleius: The Golden Ass (Metamorphoses). W. Adlington (1566). Revised by S. Gaselee.

St. Augustine: City of God. 7 Vols. Vol. I. G. E. McCracken. Vol. II. W. M. Green. Vol. IV. P. Levine. Vol. V. E. M. Sanford and W. M. Green. Vol. VI. W. C. Greene.

St. Augustine, Confessions of. W. Watts (1631). 2 Vols.

St. Augustine, Select Letters. J. H. Baxter.

Ausonius. H. G. Evelyn White. 2 Vols.

Bede. J. E. King. 2 Vols.

Boethius: Tracts and De Consolatione Philosophiae. Rev. H. F. Stewart and E. K. Rand.

Caesar: Alexandrian, African and Spanish Wars. A. G. Way.

Caesar: Civil Wars. A. G. Peskett.

Caesar: Gallic War. H. J. Edwards.

Cato: De Re Rustica; Varro: De Re Rustica. H. B. Ash and W. D. Hooper.

Catullus. F. W. Cornish; Tibullus. J. B. Postgate; Pervigilium Veneris. J. W. Mackail.

Celsus: De Medicina. W. G. Spencer. 3 Vols.

Cicero: Brutus, and Orator. G. L. Hendrickson and H. M. Hubbell.

[Cicero]: Ad Herennium. H. Caplan.

Cicero: De Oratore, etc. 2 Vols. Vol. I. De Oratore, Books I. and II. E. W. Sutton and H. Rackham. Vol. II. De Oratore, Book III. De Fato; Paradoxa Stoicorum; De Partitione Oratoria. H. Rackham.

Cicero: De Finibus. H. Rackham.

Cicero: De Inventione, etc. H. M. Hubbell.

Cicero: De Natura Deorum and Academica. H. Rackham.

Cicero: De Officiis. Walter Miller.

Cicero: De Republica and De Legibus; Somnium Scipionis. Clinton W. Keyes.

Cicero: De Senectute, De Amicitia, De Divinatione. W. A. Falconer.

Cicero: In Catilinam, Pro Flacco, Pro Murena, Pro Sulla. Louis E. Lord.

Cicero: Letters to Atticus. E. O. Winstedt. 3 Vols.

Cicero: Letters to His Friends. W. Glynn Williams. 3 Vols.

Cicero: Philippics. W. C. A. Ker.

Cicero: Pro Archia Post Reditum, De Domo, De Haruspicum Responsis, Pro Plancio. N. H. Watts.

Cicero: Pro Caecina, Pro Lege Manilia, Pro Cluentio, Pro Rabirio. H. Grose Hodge.

Cicero: Pro Caelio, De Provinciis Consularibus, Pro Balbo. R. Gardner.

Cicero: Pro Milone, In Pisonem, Pro Scauro, Pro Fonteio, Pro Rabirio Postumo, Pro Marcello, Pro Ligario, Pro Rege Deiotaro. N. H. Watts.

Cicero: Pro Quinctio, Pro Roscio Amerino, Pro Roscio Comoedo, Contra Rullum. J. H. Freese.

Cicero: Pro Sestio, In Vatinium. R. Gardner.

Cicero: Tusculan Disputations. J. E. King.

Cicero: Verrine Orations. L. H. G. Greenwood. 2 Vols.

Claudian. M. Platnauer. 2 Vols.

Columella: De Re Rustica. De Arboribus. H. B. Ash, E. S. Forster and E. Heffner. 3 Vols.

Curtius, Q.: History of Alexander. J. C. Rolfe. 2 Vols.

Florus. E. S. Forster; and Cornelius Nepos. J. C. Rolfe.

Frontinus: Stratagems and Aqueducts. C. E. Bennett and M. B. McElwain.

Fronto: Correspondence. C. R. Haines. 2 Vols.

Gellius, J. C. Rolfe. 3 Vols.

Horace: Odes and Epodes. C. E. Bennett.

Horace: Satires, Epistles, Ars Poetica. H. R. Fairclough.

Jerome: Selected Letters. F. A. Wright.

Juvenal and Persius. G. G. Ramsay.

Livy. B. O. Foster, F. G. Moore, Evan T. Sage, and A. C. Schlesinger and R. M. Geer (General Index). 14 Vols.

Lucan. J. D. Duff.

Lucretius. W. H. D. Rouse.

Martial. W. C. A. Ker. 2 Vols.

Minor Latin Poets: from Publilius Syrus to Rutilius Namatianus, including Grattius, Calpurnius Siculus, Nemesianus, Avianus, and others with "Aetna" and the "Phoenix." J. Wight Duff and Arnold M. Duff.

Ovid: The Art of Love and Other Poems. J. H. Mozley.

OVID: FASTI. Sir James G. Frazer.

OVID: HEROIDES and AMORES. Grant Showerman.

OVID: METAMORPHOSES. F. J. Miller. 2 Vols.

OVID: TRISTIA and EX PONTO. A. L. Wheeler.

PERSIUS. Cf. JUVENAL.

PETRONIUS. M. Heseltine; SENECA; APOCOLOCYNTOSIS. W. H. D. Rouse.

PHAEDRUS AND BABRIUS (Greek). B. E. Perry.

PLAUTUS. Paul Nixon. 5 Vols.

PLINY: LETTERS. Melmoth's Translation revised by W. M. L. Hutchinson. 2 Vols.

PLINY: NATURAL HISTORY.
10 Vols. Vols. I.-V. and IX. H. Rackham. Vols. VI.-VIII. W. H. S. Jones. Vol. X. D. E. Eichholz.

PROPERTIUS. H. E. Butler.

PRUDENTIUS. H. J. Thomson. 2 Vols.

QUINTILIAN. H. E. Butler. 4 Vols.

REMAINS OF OLD LATIN. E. H. Warmington. 4 Vols. Vol. I. (ENNIUS AND CAECILIUS.) Vol. II. (LIVIUS, NAEVIUS, PACUVIUS, ACCIUS.) Vol. III. (LUCILIUS and LAWS OF XII TABLES.) Vol. IV. (ARCHAIC INSCRIPTIONS.)

SALLUST. J. C. Rolfe.

SCRIPTORES HISTORIAE AUGUSTAE. D. Magie. 3 Vols.

SENECA: APOCOLOCYNTOSIS. Cf. PETRONIUS.

SENECA: EPISTULAE MORALES. R. M. Gummere. 3 Vols.

SENECA: MORAL ESSAYS. J. W. Basore. 3 Vols.

SENECA: TRAGEDIES. F. J. Miller. 2 Vols.

SIDONIUS: POEMS and LETTERS. W. B. ANDERSON. 2 Vols.

SILIUS ITALICUS. J. D. Duff. 2 Vols.

STATIUS. J. H. Mozley. 2 Vols.

SUETONIUS. J. C. Rolfe. 2 Vols.

TACITUS: DIALOGUES. Sir Wm. Peterson. AGRICOLA and GERMANIA. Maurice Hutton.

TACITUS: HISTORIES AND ANNALS. C. H. Moore and J. Jackson. 4 Vols.

TERENCE. John Sargeaunt. 2 Vols.

TERTULLIAN: APOLOGIA and DE SPECTACULIS. T. R. Glover. MINUCIUS FELIX. G. H. Rendall.

VALERIUS FLACCUS. J. H. Mozley.

VARRO: DE LINGUA LATINA. R. G. Kent. 2 Vols.

VELLEIUS PATERCULUS and RES GESTAE DIVI AUGUSTI. F. W. Shipley.

VIRGIL. H. R. Fairclough. 2 Vols.

VITRUVIUS: DE ARCHITECTURA. F. Granger. 2 Vols.

Greek Authors

ACHILLES TATIUS. S. Gaselee.

AELIAN: ON THE NATURE OF ANIMALS. A. F. Scholfield. 3 Vols.

AENEAS TACTICUS, ASCLEPIODOTUS and ONASANDER. The Illinois Greek Club.

AESCHINES. C. D. Adams.

AESCHYLUS. H. Weir Smyth. 2 Vols.

ALCIPHRON, AELIAN, PHILOSTRATUS: LETTERS. A. R. Benner and F. H. Fobes.

ANDOCIDES, ANTIPHON, Cf. MINOR ATTIC ORATORS.

APOLLODORUS. Sir James G. Frazer. 2 Vols.

APOLLONIUS RHODIUS. R. C. Seaton.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS. Kirsopp Lake. 2 Vols.

APPIAN: ROMAN HISTORY. Horace White. 4 Vols.

ARATUS. Cf. CALLIMACHUS.

ARISTOPHANES. Benjamin Bickley Rogers. 3 Vols. Verse trans.

ARISTOTLE: ART OF RHETORIC. J. H. Freese.

ARISTOTLE: ATHENIAN CONSTITUTION, EUDEMIAN ETHICS, VICES AND VIRTUES. H. Rackham.

ARISTOTLE: GENERATION OF ANIMALS. A. L. Peck.

ARISTOTLE: HISTORIA ANIMALIUM. A. L. Peck. Vol. I.

ARISTOTLE: METAPHYSICS. H. Tredennick. 2 Vols.

ARISTOTLE: METEOROLOGICA. H. D. P. Lee.

ARISTOTLE: MINOR WORKS. W. S. Hett. On Colours, On Things Heard, On Physiognomies, On Plants, On Marvellous Things Heard, Mechanical Problems, On Indivisible Lines, On Situations and Names of Winds, On Melissus, Xenophanes, and Gorgias.

ARISTOTLE: NICOMACHEAN ETHICS. H. Rackham.

ARISTOTLE: OECONOMICA and MAGNA MORALIA. G. C. Armstrong; (with Metaphysics, Vol. II.).

ARISTOTLE: ON THE HEAVENS. W. K. C. Guthrie.

ARISTOTLE: ON THE SOUL. PARVA NATURALIA. ON BREATH. W. S. Hett.

ARISTOTLE: CATEGORIES, ON INTERPRETATION, PRIOR ANALYTICS. H. P. Cooke and H. Tredennick.

ARISTOTLE: POSTERIOR ANALYTICS, TOPICS. H. Tredennick and E. S. Forster.

ARISTOTLE: ON SOPHISTICAL REFUTATIONS.

On Coming to be and Passing Away, On the Cosmos. E. S. Forster and D. J. Furley.

ARISTOTLE: PARTS OF ANIMALS. A. L. Peck; MOTION AND PROGRESSION OF ANIMALS. E. S. Forster.

Aristotle: Physics. Rev. P. Wicksteed and F. M. Cornford. 2 Vols.

Aristotle: Poetics and Longinus. W. Hamilton Fyfe; Demetrius on Style. W. Rhys Roberts.

Aristotle: Politics. H. Rackham.

Aristotle: Problems. W. S. Hett. 2 Vols.

Aristotle: Rhetorica Ad Alexandrum (with Problems. Vol. II.) H. Rackham.

Arrian: History of Alexander and Indica. Rev. E. Iliffe Robson. 2 Vols.

Athenaeus: Deipnosophistae. C. B. Gulick. 7 Vols.

Babrius and Phaedrus (Latin). B. E. Perry.

St. Basil: Letters. R. J. Deferrari. 4 Vols.

Callimachus: Fragments. C. A. Trypanis.

Callimachus, Hymns and Epigrams, and Lycophron. A. W. Mair; Aratus. G. R. Mair.

Clement of Alexandria. Rev. G. W. Butterworth.

Colluthus. Cf. Oppian.

Daphnis and Chloe. Thornley's Translation revised by J. M. Edmonds; and Parthenius. S. Gaselee.

Demosthenes I.: Olynthiacs, Philippics and Minor Orations. I.-XVII. and XX. J. H. Vince.

Demosthenes II.: De Corona and De Falsa Legatione. C. A. Vince and J. H. Vince.

Demosthenes III.: Meidias, Androtion, Aristocrates, Timocrates and Aristogeiton, I. and II. J. H. Vince.

Demosthenes IV.-VI.: Private Orations and In Neaeram. A. T. Murray.

Demosthenes VII.: Funeral Speech, Erotic Essay, Exordia and Letters. N. W. and N. J. DeWitt.

Dio Cassius: Roman History. E. Cary. 9 Vols.

Dio Chrysostom. J. W. Cohoon and H. Lamar Crosby. 5 Vols.

Diodorus Siculus. 12 Vols. Vols. I.-VI. C. H. Oldfather. Vol. VII. C. L. Sherman. Vol. VIII. C. B. Welles. Vols. IX. and X. R. M. Geer. Vol. XI. F. Walton.

Diogenes Laertius. R. D. Hicks. 2 Vols.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus: Roman Antiquities. Spelman's translation revised by E. Cary. 7 Vols.

Epictetus. W. A. Oldfather. 2 Vols.

Euripides. A. S. Way. 4 Vols. Verse trans.

Eusebius: Ecclesiastical History. Kirsopp Lake and J. E. L. Oulton. 2 Vols.

Galen: On the Natural Faculties. A. J. Brock.

The Greek Anthology. W. R. Paton. 5 Vols.

Greek Elegy and Iambus with the Anacreontea. J. M. Edmonds. 2 Vols.

THE GREEK BUCOLIC POETS (THEOCRITUS, BION, MOSCHUS). J. M. Edmonds.

GREEK MATHEMATICAL WORKS. Ivor Thomas. 2 Vols.

HERODES. Cf. THEOPHRASTUS: CHARACTERS.

HERODOTUS. A. D. Godley. 4 Vols.

HESIOD AND THE HOMERIC HYMNS. H. G. Evelyn White.

HIPPOCRATES and the FRAGMENTS OF HERACLEITUS. W. H. S. Jones and E. T. Withington. 4 Vols.

HOMER: ILIAD. A. T. Murray. 2 Vols.

HOMER: ODYSSEY. A. T. Murray. 2 Vols.

ISAEUS. E. W. Forster.

ISOCRATES. George Norlin and LaRue Van Hook. 3 Vols.

ST. JOHN DAMASCENE: BARLAAM AND IOASAPH. Rev. G. R. Woodward and Harold Mattingly.

JOSEPHUS. 9 Vols. Vols. I.-IV.; H. Thackeray. Vol. V.; H. Thackeray and R. Marcus. Vols. VI.-VII.; R. Marcus. Vol. VIII.; R. Marcus and Allen Wikgren. Vol. IX. L. H. Feldman.

JULIAN. Wilmer Cave Wright. 3 Vols.

LUCIAN. 8 Vols. Vols. I.-V. A. M. Harmon. Vol. VI. K. Kilburn. Vol. VII. M. D. Macleod.

LYCOPHRON. Cf. CALLIMACHUS.

LYRA GRAECA. J. M. Edmonds. 3 Vols.

LYSIAS. W. R. M. Lamb.

MANETHO. W. G. Waddell: PTOLEMY: TETRABIBLOS. F. E. Robbins.

MARCUS AURELIUS. C. R. Haines.

MENANDER. F. G. Allinson.

MINOR ATTIC ORATORS (ANTIPHON, ANDOCIDES, LYCURGUS, DEMADES, DINARCHUS, HYPERIDES). K. J. Maidment and J. O. Burtt. 2 Vols.

NONNOS: DIONYSIACA. W. H. D. Rouse. 3 Vols.

OPPIAN, COLLUTHUS, TRYPHIODORUS. A. W. Mair.

PAPYRI. NON-LITERARY SELECTIONS. A. S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar. 2 Vols. LITERARY SELECTIONS (Poetry). D. L. Page.

PARTHENIUS. Cf. DAPHNIS and CHLOE.

PAUSANIAS: DESCRIPTION OF GREECE. W. H. S. Jones. 4 Vols. and Companion Vol. arranged by R. E. Wycherley.

PHILO. 10 Vols. Vols. I.-V.; F. H. Colson and Rev. G. H. Whitaker. Vols. VI.-IX.; F. H. Colson. Vol. X. F. H. Colson and the Rev. J. W. Earp.

PHILO: two supplementary Vols. (*Translation only.*) Ralph Marcus.

PHILOSTRATUS: THE LIFE OF APOLLONIUS OF TYANA. F. C. Conybeare. 2 Vols.

Philostratus: Imagines; Callistratus: Descriptions. A. Fairbanks.

Philostratus and **Eunapius**: Lives of the Sophists. Wilmer Cave Wright.

Pindar. Sir J. E. Sandys.

Plato: Charmides, Alcibiades, Hipparchus, The Lovers, Theages, Minos and Epinomis. W. R. M. Lamb.

Plato: Cratylus, Parmenides, Greater Hippias, Lesser Hippias. H. N. Fowler.

Plato: Euthyphro, Apology, Crito, Phaedo, Phaedrus. H. N. Fowler.

Plato: Laches, Protagoras, Meno, Euthydemus. W. R. M. Lamb.

Plato: Laws. Rev. R. G. Bury. 2 Vols.

Plato: Lysis, Symposium, Gorgias. W. R. M. Lamb.

Plato: Republic. Paul Shorey. 2 Vols.

Plato: Statesman, Philebus. H. N. Fowler; Ion. W. R. M. Lamb.

Plato: Theaetetus and Sophist. H. N. Fowler.

Plato: Timaeus, Critias, Clitopho, Menexenus, Epistulae. Rev. R. G. Bury.

Plotinus: A. H. Armstrong. Vols. I.-III.

Plutarch: Moralia. 15 Vols. Vols. I.-V. F. C. Babbitt. Vol. VI. W. C. Helmbold. Vol. VII. P. H. De Lacy and B. Einarson. Vol. IX. E. L. Minar, Jr., F. H. Sandbach, W. C. Helmbold. Vol. X. H. N. Fowler. Vol. XI. L. Pearson and F. H. Sandbach. Vol. XII. H. Cherniss and W. C. Helmbold.

Plutarch: The Parallel Lives. B. Perrin. 11 Vols.

Polybius. W. R. Paton. 6 Vols.

Procopius: History of the Wars. H. B. Dewing. 7 Vols.

Ptolemy: Tetrabiblos. Cf. Manetho.

Quintus Smyrnaeus. A. S. Way. Verse trans.

Sextus Empiricus. Rev. R. G. Bury. 4 Vols.

Sophocles. F. Storr. 2 Vols. Verse trans.

Strabo: Geography. Horace L. Jones. 8 Vols.

Theophrastus: Characters. J. M. Edmonds. Herodes, etc. A. D. Knox.

Theophrastus: Enquiry into Plants. Sir Arthur Hort, Bart. 2 Vols.

Thucydides. C. F. Smith. 4 Vols.

Tryphiodorus. Cf. Oppian.

Xenophon: Cyropaedia. Walter Miller. 2 Vols.

Xenophon: Hellenica, Anabasis, Apology, and Symposium. C. L. Brownson and O. J. Todd. 3 Vols.

Xenophon: Memorabilia and Oeconomicus. E. C. Marchant.

Xenophon: Scripta Minora. E. C. Marchant.

DESCRIPTIVE PROSPECTUS ON APPLICATION

London WILLIAM HEINEMANN LTD
Cambridge, Mass. HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

Arrianus, Flavius

Arrian.